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THE EFFICACY OF SELF-HELP MOVEMENTS: A COMPARISON OF *HARAMBEE* IN KENYA AND *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* IN SRI LANKA

BY ©

MICHAEL BARTON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION
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Dr. R.S. Pannu
Supervisor

Dr. Swee-Hin Toh

Dr. P. Saram

Date: Oct. 7, 1993

DEDICATION

To the pioneers of the rural community where I grew up; Naples, Alberta. Their communal spirit and collective efforts were the embodiment of the self-help ethos.

In particular, to my parents; Peter and Mary Barton. Their perseverence in struggling against the odds to overcome adversity was, and is, inspiring.

ABSTRACT

This study will explore the extent to which self-help movements for the devlopment of rural comunities are; a) effective in their development initiatives in terms of improving the quality of life for marginalized populations and; b) representative of alternative development strategies.

Two case studies of self-help movements in two different non-industrial countries will be presented as empirical representations of this type of development strategy. The two case studies to be examined are the *Harambee* movement in Kenya and the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka. These self-help movements will be presented, firstly, within the historical context of the society that each movement functions, secondly, within the context of the development of education in each country, and lastly, in terms of the evolution and organization of each movement and the development strategy each employs. Some determination of the effectiveness of each self-help movement will then be made with respect to the constraining and facilitating effect on each movement's activities as a result of the social, political, economic, and cultural dynamics within each country.

In anticipation of the presentation of these two case studies, theoretical perspectives pertaining to anarchistic orientations to social change, as well as contemporary perspectives on development will be delineated. This will be done in order to assess them relative to development with respect to rural communities in non-industrial countries. These theoretical perspectives will serve as a foundation to formulate a model of alternative development. This alternative development model will be used as a framework for approaches to community development considered to be more appropriate than conventional ones. The model will then be compared and contrasted with the two representations of self-help development.

A final comparison will be made between *Harambee* and *Sarvodaya Shramadana* in order to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of each self-help movement in terms of community development in the rural areas of their respective countries. In addition, some conclusions will be made as to the extent to which each movement has conformed or deviated from the model of alternative development. Having done this, some conclusions will be made with respect to the practicality and limitations of the alternative development model itself.

The implications of this study concern development practitioners, participants presently in or contemplating self-help development, and those doing research on self-help movements specifically. This study could ultimately raise some basic questions regarding what development should encompass and what it should accomplish.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION........1

a) THE DEBATE: SOCIETY AND HUMAN NATURE........1
b) THE PROBLEM TO BE EXPLORED........2
c) HOW THE STUDY EVOLVED........5
d) THE IMPLICATIONS OF EXPLORING THE PROBLEM........6
e) QUALIFYING STATEMENTS: LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS...7

CHAPTER 1
AN ANARCHISTIC PHILOSOPHY TO SOCIETY AND HUMAN NATURE........9

a) THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF ANARCHISM........9
b) DIFFERENTIATING MARXISM FROM ANARCHISM........15
c) COMMUNITY AND THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY........19
d) EDUCATION IN AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY........23

CHAPTER 2
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT........26

a) DEFICIENCIES WITHIN CONVENTIONAL DEVELOPMENT THEORY........26
b) NEW WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT PERSISTENT PROBLEMS........28
    i) DENIS GOULET: A HIGHER STANDARD OF THINKING........32
    ii) E.F. SCHUMACHER: BUDDHIST ECONOMICS AND APPROPRIATE SIZE........38
c) TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL........43

CHAPTER 3
THE *HARAMBEE* MOVEMENT IN KENYA........47

a) KENYA IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT........48
b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN KENYA........56
c) THE *HARAMBEE* MOVEMENT AS SELF-HELP DEVELOPMENT........64
d) *HARAMBEE* COMPARED TO THE ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL........79

CHAPTER 4
THE *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* MOVEMENT IN SRI LANKA........82

a) THE SRI LANKAN HISTORICAL CONTEXT........83
b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA........101
c) SELF-HELP THROUGH *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* 110
d) *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* COMPARED TO THE ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL........122

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 126

- a) CONCLUDING COMPARISONS OF *HARAMBEE* AND *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* 126
- b) CONCLUSIONS ON THE MODEL OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT 130

INTRODUCTION

a) THE DEBATE: SOCIETY AND HUMAN NATURE

There is a quintessential debate which lingers among philosophical circles as to whether mankind is to live out life as a social animal in a Hobbesian society that tends to deteriorate into a "war of all against all", where only the fittest survive. This is a society that perceives it as natural for the strong to prey on the weak and where the struggle for power over others dominates and competition between people reigns supreme. The other side of the debate contends that human nature is comprised of basically good qualities which consistently present themselves when given the opportunity. This is a society that allows for the greatest potential of the human spirit to strive for balance in its social environment in an effort to provide for everyone's needs. Politically, this debate may be approached in terms of conflict of interests and the attributes of human nature which delineate that conflict. Sociologically, the debate may be approached according to whether people are self-serving individualists who are prone to be aggressively dominating, or whether our true nature can be traced to the earliest societies where cooperation and non-hierarchical forms of authority were more the norm.

However the debate evolves, historically, people seem to have had an innate instinct for survival that ensures they will acquire their basic needs in the face of adversity and under whatever constraints exist. The variety of constraints, ranging from the natural environment to State administrations, that present themselves at any given time has proven men and women to be very adaptable and innovative creatures. How else could human settlements be founded in such drastically differing habitats ranging from the desert plains to the Arctic tundra? Maintaining such adaptive and innovative features of the human "pysche" would appear to be an important element for the survival and viability of any society, whether it be traditional or modern, or governed by capitalist or socialist economic prescriptions.

This debate is the general backdrop against which my study is set. It will concern itself with aspects of how certain activities undertaken by individuals and groups are affected by various constraints when operating within a specific social context. The social context will be defined largely by dynamics of the State found in each society in addition to historical, economic, and cultural factors. Theorists have conceptualized the relationship between the people and the State for centuries. Their theories have been refined and challenged over time as new concepts and realities are added to the equation. Aristotle, for example, perceived the State to be a political association of free and equal people in the pursuit of justice as defined by law. He saw this type of association as the basis for peaceful and respectful relationships among equals striving for the common good (Sayer/Frisby,15). Rousseau, on the other hand, stipulated that certain social and political relations had been altered due to the arrival of the concept of private property. He maintained that the emergence of private property as a historically specific social relation in society had changed the conditions of the *natural state* in society forever. Adam Smith countered that the common good would be served best by everyone pursuing their own self-interest in the marketplace with the least interference of the State. In being the best judge of their needs, individuals going about their economic activities would provide for the needs of society as a whole, making the involvement of the State negligible (Chilcote,407-408). These few perspectives are presented to provide some idea as to how perceptions of the relationship between the people and the State have evolved over time. Yet it is such early perspectives that have translated into some distinct ideological orientations that have been formulated into specific theoretical prescriptions to be applied to contemporary societies.

b) THE PROBLEM TO BE EXPLORED

This work will delve into this controversy, initially, in terms of exploring the extent to which anarchistic orientations to social organization may be a more appropriate philosophical approach to community development in rural areas. Although not given as great a consideration as other theoretical perspectives, anarchism has significant relevance to development initiatives in that it has direct applications, especially within the context of self-help development. The problem to be explored here will be delineated in terms of whether self-help movements represent a practical alternative approach to development. This is to be determined according to whether or not these movements conform to a model of development that incorporates anarchistic formulations to social organization as well as some specific contemporary perspectives to development. The problem will be explored further in terms of how the effectiveness of self-help movements is mediated according to the extent to which they do or do not conform to this model. This will be considered with respect to the social, cultural, and institutional factors within the social context that can condition or mediate the effectiveness of these movements in terms of improving the quality of life for marginalized segments of a society's population.

The exploration of this problem will be initiated in the first chapter with respect to describing the conceptual foundations on which anarchists have come to frame their perspectives on society. Specific anarchistic perspectives on aspects of society such as the individual, the community, the state, law, and education will be outlined for this purpose. The extent to which Marxist ideology and anarchist ideology differ will also be explored in order to provide some clarity as to the distinctiveness of these ideological perspectives that, while they may share some philosophical orientations, also have fundamental differences which often cause confusion between the two. The overall intent of this first chapter will be to present to the reader an expression of a specific philosophy to social organization that attempts to reduce social divisions based on class and inequality of opportunity to one free of greed and exploitation where everyone shares equally in the resources of the society. An anarchistic philosophy proposes a social organization that would be autonomous, non-hierarchical, and non-competitive. Anarchist thinkers contend that it is only a social environment such as this that will allow for the freedom that is necesary for maintaining the spontaneous and creative innovation at both individual and collective levels that will ensure the viabilty of any society.

The second chapter will consider approaches to development with respect to rural communities that are derived from some contemporary theoretical perspectives. The contemporary perspectives to be presented here were chosen specifically because of their perceived compatibility with the anarchistic philiosophical orientations to development presented initially. The first portion of this chapter will be briefly devoted to a consideration of how theory formation itself has become more rationalistic and positivistic in recent history. This subject has been articulated to some extent by Jürgen Habermas and it is his thoughts on this issue that will be utilized in this context. His contention is that this tendency toward rationalism and positivism has created social institutions that stifle critical awareness and a promote a false-consciousness. This is the basis on which the contemporary perspectives on development will be introduced, as a challenge to the more conventional positivistic and rational orientations to development.

The presentation of contemporary perspectives on development in the second portion of Chapter 2 will rely predominantly on the theoretical perspectives outlined by Denis Goulet and E.F. Schumacher. These two authors in particular have outlined orientations to the development of rural communities that stress morals and ethics, and question the technological imperative as well as capitalist production processes and consumption patterns. Goulet emphasizes what he calls "authentic development" and a "higher standard of thinking" in his prescriptions for development initiatives. He proposes that emphasizing these factors will mitigate paternalisitc attitudes and incorporate new values into the development process that will be more cognizant of appropriate technological processes and traditional knowledge bases. Complementing this perspective, E.F. Schumacher emphasizes "small-scale" development initiatives that rely on the immediate resources that are available and that are renewable in order to ensure the sustainability of such an initiative. He recommends avoiding alienating capitalistic production processes on the basis of their tendency to breed insecurity and frustration. Alternatively, Schumacher presents a Buddhist economic philosophy that de-emphasizes materialism and competition, and instead, stresses living within one's means.

With these theoretical perspectives in place, the foundation will be set to formulate an alternative model for development. This model will incorporate concepts from both the anarchistic philosophical orientations and the contemporary theoretical perspectives that will have been outlined to this point. This alternative development model will be be used as a framework for approaches to community development considered to be more appropriate than conventional ones. The resulting model will then be compared and contrasted with two case studies of self-help movements in terms of how each conforms or deviates from the model.

Chapters 3 and 4 will present two empirical representations of self-help development in two non-industrial countries. These representations of self-help development take the form of two specific social movements within each respective country which they are located. The third chapter will examine the *Harambee* movement in Kenya and the fourth chapter will examine the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka. The self-help movements will be presented in each chapter, firstly, within the historical context of the society that each movement functions, secondly, within the context of the development of education in each country, and lastly, in terms of the evolution and organization of each movement and the development strategy each employs. Presenting the two self-help movements in this manner will then allow for some determination to be made as to the constraining as well as facilitating effect of the social, political, economic, and cultural dynamics within each country upon these movements. The end of each of the third and fourth chapters will be devoted to a discussion of how compatible each respective self-help movement is to the alternative development model that was formulated. This will be done in order to analyze the extent to which these movements are representative of anarchistic organizations and to what length do they employ contemporary development perspectives in their initiatives. From this analysis some conclusion will be able to be drawn as to whether this compatibility has enhanced or hindered their effectiveness.

The final chapter will then compare the two self-help movements with each other in terms of their organization, strategy of action, and strengths and weaknesses. The particular social dynamics that have directed the evolution of each movement and give each one its unique character are also expected to contribute to the strengths and weaknesses each possesses. Ultimately, these factors present the possibility of adversely influencing the outcome of a development initiative undertaken through these means. Thus, some assessment can be made as to the effectiveness of this type of development initiative as well as possibly making some recommendations for development strategies so that chances for an improved quality of life for a society's most marginalized populations will not be jeopardized. Furthermore, some assessment of the alternative development model itself can be made at this time in terms of its practicality and its limitations.

c) HOW THE STUDY EVOLVED

My personal interest in this area of research derives from both chance and personal experience. The course-work pertaining to development that I completed at the University of Alberta gave me an awareness of the mitigating circumstances that effect that chances for an improved quality of life for marginalized populations in peripheral-capitalist countries. However, it appeared to me that there was not a great deal of emphasis on examples of actions taken to counter these mitigating circumstances. That is why I was intrigued by an article in a journal concerning a grassroots initiative to providing schooling in rural communities in Kenya. So it was with some enthusiasm and a lot of naivete that I continued to gather research in this area as I thought it to be a practical and less complicated approach to the problems of rural community development.

I suppose, to my mind this type of development initiative presented itself as a radical departure from conventional prescriptions for development. Similarly, the radical nature of anarchistic philosophy also appealed to me, in part, because of the popular misconceptions that are associated with it (and to which I also subscribed). The other appealing aspect of this philosophy was with respect to its collective and communal approach to social change that emphasized the importance of providing the potential for individual creativity and innovation to be expressed in order to confront problems. In this respect, the contemporary development perspectives focusing on Goulet and Schumacher were included as I felt that the manner in which they departed from conventional development theory gave them a unique quality that was appealing as well as making them compatible with anarchistic perspectives on social organization.

Personally, my own background has doubtlessly inspired me to pursue this avenue of research. The concepts I was dealing with here made me reflect on my parents' experience as pioneers in our rural community. When I think about what they and their fellow community members accomplished it seems nothing less than amazing considering how foreign such a collective spirit is in today's society. In 1943, for instance, my father along with some local farmers in our community decided to form their own credit union since the banks were refusing to lend money to them. From the humble beginnings of having member's savings put in a shoe box, the Barrhead Credit Union today has assets in excess of $50 million. It is examples such as this, along with the local Co-op and the Alberta Wheat Pool, that I grew up with and shaped my perspective on co-operativism. Essentially, it is examples of what people can do either individually or collectively in order to beat the odds and overcome adversity that I am always impressed with and inspired by.

My research into self-help development originated with a look at the *Harambee* movement in Kenya. There was a significant amount of material available on this subject and it soon became apparent that this was not the ideal development initiative I had first envisioned. The pitfalls and weaknesses of *Harambee* were evident and I was somewhat at a loss as to how to proceed with my research until I was introduced to the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka by Dr. P. Saram. After some research into this movement I realized that the similarities and differences between the self-help movements that contributed to their strengths and weaknesses would make for an interesting comparison of the two.

d) THE IMPLICATIONS OF EXPLORING THE PROBLEM

Revealing some of the problems and advantages of pursuing a development initiative through self-help would serve to raise the issue of emphasizing appropriate development processes. While not implying by any measure that this study is meant to be the final word on the subject, it is hoped that it will both generate and perpetuate discussion on such an important issue. I would anticipate that the manner in which this issue has been approached in this study will have implications for people at various levels of involvement in development who have an interest or stake in any process undertaken.

For practitioners in the field of development, the analysis and assessment provided in this study will have implications for the future directon of their work. For those people currently participating in self-help movements, or marginalized groups contemplating such a development initiative, this study will have implications for their work that may act as a guideline for their ongoing or anticipated activities. Finally, for those doing research on self-help movements specifically, this study will serve as a good overview of the dynamics involved in such a development initiative that will hopefully inspire further research in this area. Overall, this study will have significance with respect to making any reader cognizant of how integral structural, environmental, and cultural constraints are in attempting to undertake a development initiative in general, and a self-help initiative in particular. Furthermore, the alternative development model formulated in this study could have the result of raising some basic questions as to what development should be in terms of what it should encompass and what it should accomplish.

e) QUALIFYING STATEMENTS: LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

With regard to the limitations of this study, the data sources used and the limits to the study that these sources have imposed must be clarified from the outset. The study is theoretical in nature, relying on secondary data sources from published texts, journals, and newspaper articles, as well as government publications. Therefore, no field study has been undertaken and I have had to depend on data emanating from the field studies accomplished by others. In this respect, there has been more detailed data on field work done studying the *Harambee* movement, as represented in the studies of Thomas, Winans/Haugerud, and Orora/Spiegel, than was available with regard to *Sarvodaya Shramadana*. Correspondingly, as each of these movements has employed differing strategies and philosophies in their development initiatives, the literature reflects the differing foci of each specific movement. Concerning the aspect of education, for instance, the focus of the *Harambee* movement has been predominated by the provision of facilities for formal education, thus, the literature dwells on this extensively in terms of the type of self-help projects undertaken. With respect to *Sarvodaya Shramadana*, since this movement has focused more on a non-formal education strategy to raise individual consciousness in the community, the literature does not stress aspects concerning the provision of formal schooling.

Some qualifying statements need to be made in reference to the discourse to be presented here in order to clarify some of the terminology used throughout the text. Firstly, the term "traditional societies" as it is used in this study will equate with those societies that relied on pre-capitalist non-industrial forms of economic activity. The economic activity in these societies would be defined as communal in nature, centring mainly on agriculture and cottage industries to provide for people's needs and to ensure the viability of the community. Similarly, the social organization of these societies would be characterized by close kinship ties and the nuclear family as a foundation for the security and continuity of the community. Secondly, there will be a concerted effort to avoid using terminology such as "less developed countries" and "developed countries", and instead, I will refer to these different societies as "peripheral-capitalist countries" and/or "non-industrial countries", and the "industrialized countries". This will be done specifically to prevent any derogatory connotations to be inferred by the reader with the use of the former terminology.

Lastly, I must make reference to the fact that when commenting on an area as sensitive as religion one must tread carefully, especially if it is a religion with which one has scant familiarity. This is the case when I attempted to familiarize myself with Buddhism in general, and aspects of Theravada Buddhism and Sinhalese Buddhism in particular. Additionally, I had to come to some understanding as to how the dynamics of these different forms of Buddhism apply to the Sri Lankan context. Therefore, I apologize at the outset for any possible errors of interpretation that may cause offense to anyone. The reader should keep in mind that for the purpose of this study the overview of Buddhism and the form found in Sri Lanka is quite general in nature and some aspects may have been overlooked.

CHAPTER 1

AN ANARCHISTIC PHILOSOPHY TO SOCIETY AND HUMAN NATURE

This chapter will describe some aspects of anarchistic thought that can be considered within the realm of social organization in general, and human nature in particular. Some fundamental constructs that make up an anarchistic perspective to social organization will be presented in terms of its collective philosophy and its prescriptions for engendering the "ideal" type of society. Specific aspects of anarchistic philosophy with respect to the individual, the community, the state, property and law will be described in the first portion of the chapter. This will be followed by a section outlining the differences between Marxist and anarchist thought so that the distinctiveness of the anarchist philosophy may be underlined. A third section will be concerned with specific aspects of how anarchists envision the creation and functioning of a cooperative society at the community level. The last section will be devoted to how education in an anarchistic society would be organized as to best serve the interests of the individual, and ultimately, the needs of the community.

a) THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF ANARCHISM

> Liberty, morality, and the human dignity of man consist precisely in this, that he does good, not because it is commanded, but because he conceives it, wills it, and loves it. - Michael Bakunin (Read,34).

The sentiments expressed in this passage underline the significance anarchist philosophy gives to the individual specifically, and to human nature in general. Although anarchists have been criticized for being overly optimistic as to the goodness of human qualities to the point of being dismissed as naive and utopian, they maintain that human beings are essentially the products of their environment, and it is the circumstances experienced from one's environment that determine one's attributes. Essentially, it is the social environment that provides the greatest opportunity for the individual to fully develop, and it is the sociability found within the community that allows one to cope with the demands of everyday life. Anarchists further contend that people are rational creatures who will strive for improvements in their social condition by appealing to reason. The caveat to this is that we cannot become wholly rational as long as governments exist, as these institutions exist on a purely irrational basis (Marshall,128,130).

Traces of anarchist thought can be found as far back as the ancient Greek philosophy of the Stoics. Parallels between this Greek philosophy and the anarchist variety are evident with respect to criticism of the state and professing that moral law should be paramount (Krimerman,6). Stoicism centred on a belief in the individual and that a "happy" life was attainable only through a harmonious existence among individuals, and between individuals and nature. Natural law then, was a pivotal force in this philosophy , causing an apathetic attitude to form towards political activity when "the inner harmony of the individual" was what was deemed as the prime objective to which one must be devoted (Craig,et al.,144-145).

Anarchist philosophy devotes much attention to identifying and examining some of the universal principles that exist in society to the extent that some conclusions may be drawn regarding the nature of society itself. Religious beliefs, for example, are found in every culture and society's moral traditions are derived largely from these beliefs, and in many respects, anarchism attempts to present itself in a spiritual light as a new religion for society. From such observations, one can then surmise that this philosophy is very organic in its orientation as it endeavours to achieve and maintain a natural and healthy balance in society and to avoid social ills such as greed, exploitation, and persecution (Read, 48,50).

Freedom is of primary consideration in the anarchist's philosophical focus on the individual. This philosophy emphasizes that one's full capabilities can best be realized through being able to act freely so that one's creativity is utilized to its greatest extent possible. The individual will then be ideally situated to confront any external forces that arise to affect his capabilities , form his social circumstances, and ultimately shape his personal nature (Marshall,132,141). Furthermore, individual freedom would give rise to equality of opportunity that would, in turn, ensure the greatest potential for development of the individual within society. Individuals should be equally free to pursue their personal interests without impinging on anyone else's individual pursuits. Personal indulgence is not the intended purpose of this philosophy, instead, anarchists would view its intent as freeing the individual from being compelled into conformity or complacency (Walter,11-12).

Accordingly, the spirit of cooperation and support among community members is permitted some chance at triumphing against the odds. Customs and taboos within the clans and tribes of traditional societies have historically provided an assurance that a degree of cooperation and mutual aid would exist within the community (Marshall,135-136).

Anarchists maintain that social organization along anarchist principles is a viable alternative that has been witnessed in the form of various traditional societies that have lived cooperatively and peacefully without coercive institutions and authoritarian rulers. In this respect, the nation state has been a relatively recent phenomenon in comparison to the anarchistic organization of some traditional societies. Anarchistic social organization places a high degree of confidence in the individual and anarchist thinkers suggest it as a plausible ideal that can be given consideration for the post-industrial age to come (Marshall,143-146).

With respect to philosophical perspectives on the state, community, authority, and property, as well as the individual, anarchism shares certain affinities with both liberal and socialist ideologies. For the purpose of clarity, it may be said that anarchism's similarity to liberalism is basically confined to their shared perspectives on individual freedom and criticism of the state. Anarchism's resemblance to socialism, on the other hand, comes from shared perspectives which favour human solidarity, collectivism, cooperativism, equality, and justice, and their mutual repudiation of industrialism, ignorance, and oppression (Krimerman,13, and Walter,3). Where anarchists depart from both liberalism and socialism is in their rejection of the institution of government, whether monarchical, dictatorial, or representative. For liberals, the value of government is seen in terms of individual freedom, although it actually preserves inequality. In contrast to this, socialists seek equality through government, but at the expense of freedom. Anarchists do not perceive democracy as the rule of the people, but as a dominating authoritative structure. For them, true democracy can only originate in a community environment where the organizational structure is small enough for every member to be involved in the decision-making processes, whereas the state represents a monopoly of power (Walter,4-5).

Despite what may appear as beneficial institutions of the state that provide health services, education, and other social services, anarchists insist that the state's main function is to perpetuate inequality. Particularly since the advent of industrialization, this inequality has been maintained through the exploitation of the workers who create the wealth and the corresponding unfair distribution of this wealth. The objective for anarchists, therefore, is to achieve order in society without government through the active participation of each person in making decisions on matters which directly affect them. Without rules and rulers, everyone will be able to make up their own mind as to how best to solve problems, resulting in the flourishing of individuality and creativity at the expense of tightly run and rational, but highly impersonal organizational structures (Walter,6-7).

Anarchist thinker and political philosopher, Wm. Godwin (1756-1836), when commenting on political institutions went to the extent of concluding that :

> ... the grand moral evils that exist in the world, the calamities by which we are so grievously oppressed, are to be traced to political institutions as their source (Krimerman,185).

His conclusion has considerable implications when addressing the issue of the state in general, and government in particular. Godwin framed his argument on the basis that, firstly, the capability for an individual to pursue "independent judgement" must be established in order for him or her to develop a personal knowledge base from which they can work from. A second consideration is that government can serve as an impediment and prevent such a process from occurring by emphasizing its own agenda that will most likely include such biases as patriotism. His third point was that it is only due to a lack of knowledge that social maladies such as "crime, vice, and injustice" result. Lastly, he posits that it is the institution of government itself that is "the most extensive and most frequent" purveyor of these same social maladies (Krimerman,185). Therefore, anarchists are adamant that the state has historically acted as a coercive force that, rather than securing people's rightful possessions, ensures their access to them is prohibited (Berkman,10). Those learned in science and religion, for example, held their specialized knowledge closely among themselves and conspired to keep such expertise from the masses. These experts tended to draw fine lines between knowledge and superstition, or religion and law, in their efforts to influence and acquire the obedience of the masses and benefit from their labour. The institutions that developed under these conditions came to impede the overall development of society by being controlled by an influential minority (Kropotkin,146-147). Institutions of society (ie. political, judicial, religious) are thus interrelated in their interests of maintaining each other's authority and encouraging the continued exploitation of the masses. Law, for example, upholds the power of the state and is so devised as to ensure that a minority profit by it while they subjugate the majority to their will. The abolition of the authority of government and its institutions becomes perceived as a progressive step toward a freer society where individual initiative is not stifled (Kropotkin,151,159,163).

In the absence of government, the rights to vital resources would no longer be the preserve of an elite minority. Instead, all would have access to such vital resources as land, water, and minerals, or the means of production. A society where people act in the common interests of everyone in the community by pooling resources and combining efforts would guarantee security and comfort to a large degree. In such a society, anarchists conceive that criminal activity would be eliminated by the fact that everyone's needs would be met. Similarly, without the coercive constraints of government, people could reach their fullest potential in the pursuit of specific interests in science, arts, literature, and technological innovations (Berkman,13-15). Isolated communities have a better chance of inspiring collective initiative, as such initiative cannot be imposed but can only derive from the spirit of the people within the community (Kropotkin,166). An anarchistic theory of social organization is derived from what may be referred to as "spontaneous order" where order has the potential of evolving out of chaos. Such a theory of organization is based on principles of voluntary association, temporary formation, functionality, and smallness (Krimerman,387,389). Human organization based on such principles is viewed by anarchists as permitting the best possible circumstances for the expression of individual freedom and at the same time avoiding the coerciveness of large and stagnant bureaucratic frameworks. Thus, the anarchistic model emphasizes its autonomous, non-hierarchical and non-competitive nature.

These perspectives on the state, the community, and the individual set some fundamental parameters when anarchist thinkers turn their attention to issues of property and law as they relate to a capitalist society. Pierre Proudon's blatant statement that "property is robbery" originates from the premise that property:

> is a civil right, born of occupation and sanctioned by law (Proudon,87).

Proudon (1809-1865) did not see law in a capitalist society as ensuring the application of justice although people have been led to believe it as so. His concern was that placing justice and rights within this frame of reference would mean that any resulting legislation would not only be ill-conceived, but have detrimental effects on the institutions and structures of society that would inhibit the maintenance of social order (Proudon,99).

Anarchists contend that the right to property should not be based in law, possession, or discovery, but be based on individual need. Likewise, property must not be used by one person for the exploitation of another. A person has a right to property that he produces himself, but not to that which is produced by someone else's labour. If this is not the case, property itself becomes authority in the manner it exercises control over the people who do not possess it. Putting control of property in the hands of the community will serve the interests and needs of all its members rather than just a minority (Walter,8-9).

Some of the fundamental aims of anarchist thought, therefore, centre around replacing present institutions and structures within society, and making an effort to establish a new type of society. This new societal form would foster the full human capacity for cooperation in order to provide for everyone's needs, help others less able to provide for themselves, engender greater respect for one's fellow community members, and strengthen communal relationships (Clark,15). Kropotkin contended that in order to release the individual from submission to the state a new form of political organization would have to be formulated and that:

> ... it is self-evident that this new form will have to be more popular, more decentralized, and nearer to the folkmote self-government than representative government can ever be (Kropotkin,163).

Instigating social change in a society based on private property and the primacy of state power becomes problematic due to the fact that over time people have come to believe in the institutions that exercise authority over their lives no matter how unjust and stifling they may be. By believing in them as they do, people maintain the existence of the very institutions that hinder any possible reduction in the coercive tendencies of the state (Berkman,35). The establishment of popular movements that provide proof for the possibility of change can serve as valuable examples for others and inspire people to undertake similar initiatives, Some examples of the popular movements that could be part of anarchist programs are:

> ... worker self-management of workplaces, extension of freedom of thought and expression, expansion of sexual freedom, voluntary education, decentralization of economic structures, cooperatives... neighbourhood government... and elimination of arbitrary distinctions based on sex, race, age, linguistic usage, and so forth (Clark,17).

For anarchists, community based voluntary associations of people can provide the opportunity for a decentralizing process to take place and encourage situations where regional or local problems can be resolved with the benefit of the community in mind. Principles of equity, individual freedom, and worker control can be established more readily if the local needs and resources of the community are taken into account in the decision-making process. Being rid of existing political institutions will be a necessary start for constructing the new society envisioned by the anarchists which will be devoid of all authoritative structures (Read,49,51).

The shortcomings revealed by both capitalism and socialism in relieving human despair and eliminating inequalities and injustices within society that perpetuate social problems are readily apparent. For people in both the developed and developing world who are seeking to mitigate the strains on daily life brought on by persistent social problems, anarchistic ideological orientations can provide some alternative solutions. In this vein, the anarchist philosophy can be considered as a model to be applied to enhance the quality of life for a society's most marginalized people. Efforts to arrive at some natural balance in society that will ensure order and peace is desirable for any individual, and it is to some semblance of a natural state in society that anarchism addresses itself (Read,43,44). This ideology sounds very idealistic when it claims to seek universal principles of justice and reason for the organization of society and anarchism has been described as *utopian socialism* with respect to its reliance on abstract principles presumed to be embodied in human nature. However, it is precisely in this respect that anarchism distinquishes itself from Marxism to a great extent, which is, by looking to human reason and human nature as the basis which enables mankind to sustain itself by the most expedient means at its disposal. The fact that humans are a product of their social surroundings prompts such philosophical efforts at theorizing about society by studying laws pertaining to the social environment in an effort to determine what fashions human nature (Plenchanoff,21,27).

b) DIFFERENTIATING MARXISM FROM ANARCHISM

Both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels believed that an anarchist society would be a better place to live than a socialist society, but they also believed that a socialist society would have to be achieved first before an anarchist one could be established (Berkman,1). Anarchists, in contrast, tended not to be as kind with respect to their perceptions of socialism. They criticized socialist governments for substituting social justice with social welfare within the capitalist economic system. Furthermore, they contend that when socialist governments are in power the authority of the state increases without a corresponding increase in social justice (Ward,18). Perhaps the most visible evidence of a split between the Marxists and the anarchists was the exclusion of Michael Bakunin from the congress of the International in 1872. This incident prompted Bakunin to comment that:

> Marx is an authoritarian and centralising communist. He wants what we want, the complete triumph of economic and social equality, but he wants it in the State and through the State power, through the dictatorship of a very strong and, so to say, despotic provisional government, that is by the negation of liberty... We want the same triumph of economic and social equality through the abolition of the State and of all that passes by the

> name of law (Ward,17).

Such contrasting visions of society can be traced back to the mid-1860's when the central issue of debate among leftist thinkers was whether economic or political means should be used to bring about the emancipation of the working class. Although both ideologies were critical of the capitalist economy, bourgeois society, and the liberal state, the anarchists differed with the Marxist idea that society passes through a series of historical stages. To anarchists, this was a thoroughly deterministic approach which did not allow for divergence of possible revolutionary outcomes, and in any case, there was no historical proof of this process. In taking a historical materialistic approach to society, anarchists felt, the Marxists neglected the influence of ideas as a force for social change that could inspire the masses, and instead, waited for the historical process to take effect (Miller,78-79). Rejecting the rigidity of the Marxist doctrine would allow for the full potential of individual free-will to be realized and the "emancipation of the proletariat" would come through the efforts of their own hands by way of the "revolutionary spontaneity of the masses" (Guérin,125).

Another criticism that anarchists place upon Marx is that his analysis of society was focused too extensively on the aspect of class antagonisms as the basis of all relations of domination. The extent to which Marx considered political conflict as originating in class struggle led to his inadequate regard of the problem of authority in a socialist society. In doing so, anarchists were concerned that this problem of authority would result in a socialist society with a class structure similar to that of a capitalist society. Anarchists envisioned a social structure where production would be conducted through a non-authoritarian process with associations of producers appointing leaders on a rotational basis and taking their direction from the workers (Rapaport,338-340). From the anarchists' point of view, the Marxists lacked a sufficient appreciation of the detrimental effects of the state under any conditions. To the anarchist, the Marxist proletarian state would retain the same qualities as the liberal State, and so it would not be a progressive move for the most part (Miller,82).

Anarchists also attacked the nature of the Marxist doctrine which would lead to a form of *scientific socialism* . What troubled the anarchists was that when the "scientific truth" was revealed, the few who would have access to it would make the ideology elitist. Some anarchists viewed the Marxists (especially in Russia) as attempting to establish themselves as a new ruling class of *professional intelligentsia* that would become the dominant elites.

In turn, Marxists criticized the anarchists for being too idealistic and naive without taking a proper perspective of historical, social, and economic conditions. Marxists contended that by concentrating on the will and inspiration of the masses the anarchists neglect to explain how such a transformation of political consciousness would be realized (Miller,80-81).

Furthermore, anarchists objected to Marxists defining the proletariat in terms of the urbanized factory worker. By placing the working class in this perspective and relying on this one group of workers to instigate the revolution, they felt that Marxists did not consider the potential revolutionary force embodied within numerous other types of workers in other sectors of society. Correspondingly, the Marxists may have included workers in the proletariat who were not convinced of the necessity of revolution and preferred to maintain their relatively good station in life. Anarchists intended to appeal to the most marginalized segments of the population: the landless, the impoverished, and the unemployed, and as such, they were concerned that the more materially affluent urban workers would not act in the interests of these marginalized groups if they ever were to instigate a revolution (Miller,84-85).

The anarchist's resolve to avoid the use of any state sanctioned processes to achieve social change on a revolutionary scale is firm due to their apprehension over the state retaining any features that might be used to serve the interests of a new ruling elite. The anarchists hoped to implement a swift and spontaneous revolution that would place the means of production in the hands of the workers and peasants; this meant no *worker state* and no socialist party. States that, with their centralized authoritative structure, formulate uniform policies for all in society without regard to particular circumstances are obviously not conducive to the revolutionary spontaneity and individual creativity required to address the unique social dynamic taking place in individual communities. Local and individual initiatives, under state authoritative and bureaucratic structures, are undermined to the extent that people are not allowed to act on their own behalf in resolving their own problems (Miller,87-88). This social structure lacks the spontaneity necessary to allow for creative innovation, thereby inhibiting the possibility of any profound change from occuring. The ideal scenario envisioned by mainstream anarchist thinkers for a social structure more conducive to developing human potential was elaborated somewhat by Kropotkin when he commented that:

> The economic change which will result from the social revolution will be so immense and so profound, it must so change all the relations based today on property and exchange... To satisfy the immense variety

> of conditions and needs which will spring up as soon as private property shall be abolished, it is necessary to have the collective suppleness of mind of the whole people. Any authority external to it will only be an obstacle, and beside that a source of discord and hatred (Miller,89).

Organizational framework would be an important aspect in this process of social change and the anarchistic organizational approach would depart from the socialist one by being more populist, more communalistic, and more self-governing. The establishment of networks of individuals and groups would be of utmost priority in order to replace the authoritarian pyramid structure which is the predominant characteristic of the existing social institutions. Instead of pyramid structures where those at the bottom carry the biggest burden, anarchist social organization would be based on a network of autonomous groups which would be conducive to worker's control and decentralized decision-making. *Direct action* is a phrase often used by anarchists in their endeavour to have people take responsibility to actively bring about the desired change to improve their situation. The drive for action would be spear-headed through popular organization involving cooperative movements within the community that would be integral to the success of the process. In this respect, *direct action* attempts to wrest decision-making from distant authorities and broaden choices available to the individual in society (Ward,22-24).

The belief that a society organized on this basis would allow people to have more control over their everyday lives was central to anarchist thinking. To accomplish this, the community would be a major focal point of interest in any anarchistic formula for social change. Marxist tradition, in contrast, has neglected any detailed analysis of community-based phenomena like cooperative movements. To Marx, cooperative societies would not amount to much and would only be of experimental value. The only cooperative society that appealed to Marx was one that was in complete contrast to anything catering to the capitalist economy. Thus, production cooperatives were suitable, but consumer cooperatives were not (Bernstein,109,112). For members of cooperative societies, however, social organization of this nature presented an opportunity to experience a unique sense of individualism in a society that represented a return to pre-capitalist production to a large degree. The anarchist agenda was to discover the best means to achieve the society which they had conceived, and they foresaw that their philosophy could be best implemented at the community-level where the community embraced the cooperative spirit.

c) COMMUNITY AND THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

Establishing a society that enhances the possibility of each individual attaining the security of person in both physical and psychological respects, as well as in terms of material necessities, would be the epitome of social order for most people. In another respect though, social order can also be considered in terms of predictability and conformity to norms encountered in everyday life. Such phenomena comprise what are known as *conventions,* and are of a particular nature that do not have to be maintained or enforced by certain controls as there is no benefit in acting against them (Taylor, 1984: 160,162,163). Efforts to establish the most appropriate *conventions* in a community are essential if a vibrant cooperative form of society is to occur. If people are not willing to act cooperatively and unselfishly, attempts to establish such a society will surely fail. According to some anarchist writers, people's hesitancy to embrace such an altruistic approach may have some explanation in their long-term identification with the state and the resulting change in perspectives regarding relationships to others in society (Taylor,1984:167). Only after the abolition of the state apparatus do anarchists perceive the opportunity for an altruistic society to develop. The term *reciprocity* is frequently used in this respect, and it can be described in terms of mutual aid, cooperation, and sharing of resources to one degree or another (Taylor,1982:28). *Reciprocity* then, becomes a substitute for the state to ensure that everyone's needs in the community are met and that social order prevails.

The acquisition of such altruistic attributes among the population makes it a necessary perquisite that the community be both small and stable as opposed to a large and ephemeral metropolitan centre. There is a lack of incentive for acts of reciprocity for individuals in large groups where people can hide in the anonymity of the group, making it harder to have people do what they are not otherwise accustomed to doing (Taylor,1982:32). The framework of a small community allows self-government to take place and helps to avoid the exploitation of people by external institutions (Matejko,70). Anarchists strive towards the founding of a society that is not organized on the basis of conflicting interests between classes and between individuals, but based on cooperation and common interests. The objective would be to have ownership and control of resources of the community, and production and distribution of commodities and services in the hands of the community rather than private interests. Such a cooperative community would see that productive capabilities would be focused on providing conditions for an improved quality of life for all, rather than having these capabilities wasted on producing amenities for the few (Woolf,66).

Philosophically, anarchists perceive cooperative movements as the outcome of a natural process that arises from an inner human spirit that becomes manifested through this mode of social action. Being community-based entities, cooperatives are strategically placed to address the specific needs of the community. Cooperative movements are characterized by being locally organized on the basis of equality in both the decision-making process and the share of ownership (Cahill,236-238). The opportunities presented by cooperative forms of economic organization are anticipated in terms of institutionalizing in a cultural sense a set of social dynamics that would encourage: 1) attitudes favouring reciprocity, 2) a broadened base of political participation, 3) and a cementing of social bonds between members of the community. Human solidarity through a sense of common purpose and need would evolve in the process and ensure the continued viability of the community (Cahill,243).

The essence of the cooperative form of socio-economic organization is realized by every member of the community contributing an equal amount of labour, and in return, receiving an equal share of benefits from the production process. The cooperative is a unique organizational form for production in that it is not concerned with the profit motive or the productivity aspect of the activity as much as the fulfillment of need a collectively organized activity. In this way, the uniqueness of this organizational form is made that much more evident by creating an "intimate relation between consumption and production" accomplished through direct and democratic control over how production is organized and in determining what is produced. The capitalist philosophy of production for the sake of production is replaced by a new psychology which concentrates on producing only that which is required (Woolf,69-70). The underlying intent is to end up with a more humanistic work place where unequal work relationships and the concept of working only to receive a wage would be replaced by cooperative partnerships. A renewed sense of purpose would emerge and cooperative management would be the convention set in the form of self-governing committees representing interests of members, both as producers and consumers. The success of such production initiatives would ultimately depend on the ability to organize society on the basis of self-governing, small and relatively homogeneous community groupings that could be linked together in a federation-style network of representative bodies (Matejko, 71-73).

Capitalism exploits the division between production and consumption for the realization of profit. The challenge for a cooperative society is to find a balance between production and consumption when there is such an irrational correlation between these two elements in modern industrial society. This irrationality encourages frivolous and wasteful consumption which is intended for its conspicuous qualities in a competitive and self-glorifying mileu. In such a system, where items are produced largely for their conspicuous qualities rather than for their utility the value placed on them becomes distorted, which breeds inefficacy in the production process. A society where everyone produced only what they consumed would reduce industrial production to a minimum and produce a high standard of comfort through such efficient production and reduce the tyranny of industrialism in the process (Woolf,73-74).

The establishment of a cooperative society organized along anarchist principles requires proper commitments and attitudes to be imbibed into the minds of the members of the community. The people as a whole have to be convinced that they would be better off than they presently were, that this process would not necessitate that they undergo undue hardships, and that this process is both practical and sustainable. The small and stable community provides the proper environment that is conducive to instilling the necessary cooperative and collective spirit among the populace. The members of such communities are characterized by common beliefs and common values. They do not live in isolation from each other, but live in close enough proximity that a multiplicity of social relations are conducted directly without excessive external mediation like that embodied in the state apparatus (Taylor,1982:26,28). Comparatively speaking, the psychology imbibed in people living under a capitalist ideology would be in sharp contrast to that engendered through a cooperative ideology. Hypothesizing as to how long a cooperative mentality of production and consumption would take to develop is dependent on a number of variables. Nonetheless, some writers speculate that this human subjectivity may take a generation or two, while others argue that such a subjectivity could never develop (Woolf,82).

Inculcating such mind-set among the populationwould be made easier if it could be proven to the people that production restricted to utilitarian purposes would result in higher quality goods being produced that would improve the overall material comfort of the community's population. By simplifying production in this manner individuals would have more time to devote to activities that allow the expression of creative capabilities. Furthermore, every member of the community would have the opportunity to play a vital role in providing for the needs of the whole of the community, thereby maintaining the active interest of each individual in the continued viability of this cooperative society. The standard of living would be enhanced if the organization of production was based on a definition of efficiency that focused on reducing labour for the majority instead of increased profit-making for a minority (Woolf,83,87). Consumption demands would be curbed in such a cooperative society by the fact that any unreasonable demands would require corresponding demands of labour and unnecessary strains on the production process in order to be satisfied. People would have to be willing to sacrifice some material comfort initially by giving up commodities that they most likely can function without to ensure that this production process becomes established on a firm foundation. Once this occurs there should be no reason to fear that the community would not progress beyond production for a more simple lifestyle once everyone's basic needs are provided (Woolf,92-94).

A philosophy of production based on such entirely different principles that seek unexploitative ends provides some unique opportunities. If the members of the community become convinced of the benefits of this alternative production strategy it would not be unreasonable to expect that they would also develop an entirely different view with respect to what they deem as a more desireable society. A different psychology would see vulgar consumption activities being replaced by a sense of value based on usefulness, quality, necessity, and beauty. People would receive a share equal to the value of the labour they contributed to the production of commodities instead of only a fraction of it (Woolf,98,100). As principles of direct democracy are thus embraced and self-government flourishes the value of the cooperative society will become obvious. The capacity for mobilizing the collective initiative of the entire community has its greatest opportunity when production is organized in this manner and advantage is taken of the natural bonds between people (Matjeko,76-77).

This does not mean that attempts to organize a community on this basis do not face some formidable hurdles. There may be fundamental problems in convincing those who presently hold power to give up the authority they have acquired (Matejko,80). Michael Bakunin believed that the potential for producer and other cooperatives was limited without a sufficient capital base to sustain productive capabilities. He pointed out that cooperatives were also faced with the challenge of standing up to huge corporate interests with regional, national, and multinational capabilities. However, Bakunin did not dismiss cooperatives, but on the contrary, he felt they had the potential to replace capitalist social organization and sow "the seeds of economic emancipation". Additionally, he could see the intrinsic value of having workers who own and operate the means of production themselves. The workers in these cooperatives would have the opportunity to exercise some control over their lives without the ominous presence of the employer or the state, thereby experiencing individual freedom as never before (Bakunin,399-400).

d) EDUCATION IN AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY

The creation of a "new person" contrary to that engendered by the capitalist ideology has already been noted as being essential to the promotion and perpetuation of a cooperative philosophy. Education becomes pivotal with respect to creating a receptiveness to new values and to the elimination of structural impediments to gaining control over the forces of production for the benefit of all in society. Education's socializing role makes it the most appropriate tool to instill attitudes of cooperativism. Beyond this, anarchists' perceptions toward education are that it should foster human potential in its entirety. A person's preparation for life would be more complete if it rests on an education which strives to develop full human potential, as the individual would have a more diverse base of skills and interests (Smith,218).

Anarchistic prescriptions on education are reflected in three main themes. Firstly, the prospects of achieving a wholistic development of the individual is compromised by a strictly technical education which must, therefore, be rejected. The second theme stresses the need to more adequately prepare the individual for the working world than the typical school tends to do now. The third theme is concerned with avoiding the tendency of schools to reinforce social division through "education specialization and the division of labour" (Smith,217-218).Thus, an education that created the opportunity for a student to realize a full range of aptitudes would be the ideal. The favourable result would be greater independence for the student that would serve him or her later in life by a preventing the person from being confined to monotonous industrial processes based on strict divisions of labour (Smith,219,221).

An anarchistic curriculum would dramatically radicalize the institution of education as it is commonly known. Individualism would reign supreme over a strictly dictated regimen as students would become largely responsible for their own curriculum design. They would be allowed to determine the subjects of study and the disciplines in which they wish to concentrate. Above all, it is hoped that the pupils' study will be more suited to their individual life experiences (Krimerman, 418). For anarchists, true educational experiences come out of real life situations and the value of this should not be lost to the institution of the school. The will of the student is put in the forefront in an anarchist curriculum, and the proclivity of educators to be "imposing, violating, and constraining" upon individual free-will is discouraged (Krimerman,415).

The school atmosphere would also be drastically altered from the norm dictated by custom. Discipline would be conducted in the context of what educational value could be derived from this activity. Self-discipline is attributed the highest value in this respect, as authoritative discipline is immoral since it actively stifles individual will, breeds distrust, and is disruptive of any real educational experience. Authoritative disciplinary practices can also be harmful to individual will with respect to its potential to inhibit free-thought where novel thoughts or acts have not been previously sanctioned (Krimerman,418-419). Any punishment would be handed out according to a consensus arrived at by fellow students and would be in the interest of keeping the self-respect of the student in question intact (Smith,227).

A major concern for anarchists is that a structure of society that remains rigidly stratified is not conducive to the greatest free flow of information. Restricted access to information does not contribute to the enhancement of knowledge that is possible through open lines of communication. The ultimate aim of education, therefore, should be to break down distinctions along the lines of gender, race, or class which contribute to the maintenance of a stratified society (Smith, 223,225). Similarly, students should be taught to believe in both their individual and collective potential rather than encouraging displays symbolizing devotion to the institution of the school (Krimerman,415).

The teaching of society's dominant belief systems that used to be the domain of the Church has now passed to the nation state, and it promotes the values and vested interests that it deems as important to maintaining its own existence. Therefore, control of education in the hands of the state is perceived by anarchists as being in conflict with the true freedom and independent thought of the individual (Smith,226-227). Education in an anarchist society would allow for the greatest independence to be realized in terms of both a person's thought and work. This education would rely heavily on self-motivation and is hoped to result in a general consciousness- raising for the individual that would be realized in terms of the ability to critically assess the world around him. An education of this nature would be a truly liberating process that would encourage a lifetime of continual individual development (Smith,221).

The preceding sections have given a specific focus to some of the fundamental elements that form the foundations of anarchist thought. The avoidance of rigid structural organization in favour of an organizational process which is both flexible and spontaneous is a major hallmark of this philosophy. The non-authoritarian and non-hierarchical principles of anarchism serve to give the greatest opportunity for individual free-will to be expressed in terms of inspiring creative activity and human solidarity in the form of mutual aid and reciprocity. Institutional constraints that subordinate one's personal interests to the state, the church, or prevailing laws would be discouraged. Accomplishing this, a social evolution could take place that combines social justice with the realization of the highest human potential through direct political participation and enhanced social bonds.

Anarchists hope to encourage a fundamental reorientation of the pervading morality away from identifying progress with economic growth and competition, and happiness with consumption. An ideology that confuses "having with being" is unprecedented, especially in the current epoch of human history, and is not one that is viewed by anarchists as embodying the true nature of mankind (Marshall,143). This call for a basic reorientation in attitudes toward the direction of society's development has been echoed by other writers since the early 1970s. Although these writers are not identified as anarchist thinkers specifically, they do reflect a way of thinking that has been expressed in this chapter. Therefore, orientations to the development process contributed by these writers are worth reviewing in terms of attempting to formulate an alternative model for development that can be considered with respect to the two self-help movements to be presented later.

CHAPTER 2
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

a) DEFICIENCIES WITHIN CONVENTIONAL DEVELOPMENT THEORY

After only two 'decades of development' (the 1950's and the 1960's) the inappropriateness and inadequacies of a predominantly Western development paradigm were blatantly exposed. Prescriptions for economic growth emphasizing huge capital requirements, modern technology and large centralized bureaucratic structures had commonly been identified as prerequisites for an overall development initiative. Correspondingly, traditional modes of production and traditional knowledge bases that are equated with cultural deficiencies and backwardness come to be identified as major factors contributing to underdevelopment.

Some insight as to why such theoretical orientations toward development have been widely adopted, particularly in the West, is provided by Jürgen Habermas' postulations on theory and praxis. According to Habermas, the formulation of theory since the eighteenth century has, for the most part, become consigned to an orientation that is more positivistic in nature. He contends that the increasing emphasis on perpetuating industrial society through technocratic organization has affected the very way people conduct their relations with each other. An interrelated grid of science, technology, industry, and administration emerges in society which becomes established within a "purposive-rational application of techniques assured by empirical sciences". In the process, any chance of enlightenment of the masses is sacrificed as the "social potential of science is reduced to the powers of technical control" (Habermas,1973:254).

Habermas was particularly concerned with the prospect that opportunities for critical thinking were being stifled in favour of promoting industrial progress. The technical administration of society was being used as a pretense for allowing the manipulative aspects of theory formulation to take precedence over its consciousness-raising possibilities that would enable people to take more control over their own destiny. Habermas points to society's evolution to an ever more rational state as ultimately determining how interaction between people is conducted, and as theory reduces its emphasis on praxis it causes control to be falsely identified as a mode of action. In such a scenario, critical consciousness is buried under the domination of technocratic imperative (Habermas,1973:255).

A theory which promotes reason over rationality is what, Habermas speculated, would be needed to overcome the proclivity of society's institutions to foster a false consciousness that ensures that vested interests are protected. Here, he specifies that reason is related to individual autonomy and a critical awareness that distinguishes what is 'right' from what is 'wrong'. The absence of reason, for Habermas, would only permit the institutions of modern society to continue to entrap people into a psychology which breeds fear, ignorance, prejudice, and ultimately violence (Habermas,1973:257-258). As technology gains control over social activity any theory which does not employ a positivistic rationale comes to be labeled as dogmatic. Claims that the empirical sciences are value-free give the impression that they are ethically superior. This allows the technical to be emphasized above everything else with no other interests being permitted to enter into the methodology. The objective is valued as the ideal over the subjective which is deemed irrational (Habermas,1973:264-265).

Positivism's value-laden promotion of empirical science engenders a "progressive rationalization" toward increased efficiency and economy, but in actuality, under this technical rationality it is only promoting its own value system. A collectively oriented value system is out of place in the context of this discourse and traditional norms are similarly degraded in value under such a technically driven paradigm (Habermas,1973:268-272). Consequently, decisions emanating from this technological paradigm are arrived at on the basis of laws governing rationality, and personal destiny becomes guided by the application of social techniques derived from narrow, rational constructs of society (Habermas,1973:275).

In light of these postulations, the failure of conventional development theory to adequately address problems inherent in the development process is due largely to a reliance on a positivistic approach to social phenomena and the primacy assigned to rationality over reason. The tendency of conventional development theory to be guided by a rationally bound and technologically dominated capitalist ideology could then primarily account for its inadequacies and inappropriateness. The establishment of the capitalist mode of production and distribution signaled the first time in history that production was undertaken for the sake of growth, as opposed to previous economic relationships that were conducted without any intent of maximizing production beyond needs. The market economy created under this system subsequently allowed inequalities to be exaggerated to a level beyond that experienced under any previous system (Wallerstein,157). Similarly, individualism (in the liberal sense) was allowed to triumph over the common good and in opposition to any collective initiative. The development agenda to date has traditionally been dictated according to the framework of this system, however, concerns are constantly being raised as to whether this so-called "Western" approach can best address capabilities and limitations of societies in non-industrial countries. This Western philosophy of development is preoccupied with growth for growth's sake, unmitigated materialism, and scientific rationality that places an ever increasing faith in technology to bring about quick fixes. Therefore, development efforts in the non-industrial countries can tread a fine line between improving the quality of life for many and leading to social and cultural upheaval that make conditions even more precarious for those subjected to its impact.

b) NEW WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT PERSISTENT PROBLEMS

The arrival of a multitude of newly independent nation-states on the international scene in the decades after World War II instigated a common desire within these new nations towards national development schemes that would enhance economic growth. Educational development, for example, was deemed to be one of the more vital prerequisites necessary to enhancing the human resources potential of a country. The anticipated outcome of such an initiative was the acceleration of economic growth that would result in higher living standards, increased employment opportunities, a convergence of diverse cultural entities, and encouragement of the spread of attitudes that would be conducive to the creation of a modern society, as opposed to the maintenance of a more traditional one. The development of a national education program would then be one initiative that would figure prominently as an important first step towards serving these ends (Todaro,289-290).

Development theories that emerged in the post-WWII era, such as the *stages of economic growth* theories promoted by the likes of W. W. Rostow, were abandoned for the most part by the late 1960's and early 1970's in favour of the *structural-internationalist* theories of development. The concept of *stages of economic growth* was characterized by a way of thinking that viewed development as a process in which a society moves through a series of stages of economic growth similarly followed by the present industrialized countries. Economic growth, as defined in Western terms through the injection of the right mixture of foreign and domestic capital, was the ultimate objective of this orientation to the development process. Progress was primarily defined in terms of sustained annual increases in GNP, and as a consequence, this development approach has been identified with rapid industrialization, often at the expense of agriculture and rural development (Todaro,57-58).

With the *stages* theories being largely abandoned, *structural-internationalist* development models began to gain acceptance. These models focused on the external and internal constraints on economic development caused by a dependent and dominated relationship with the industrialized countries. This approach allowed for a more human face to be applied to development in terms of egalitarian policies such as eradicating poverty, providing more diversified educational and employment opportunities, and efforts to reducing economic disparities. For the first time, social needs were given some consideration over economic growth. The experience of the development programs that arose in this period was one of an achievement of relatively high rates of growth for a number of developing countries, however, this did not translate into a cure for the endemic social and economic problems that existed in the non-industrial countries. In fact, there was little or no improvement of income levels among the most disadvantaged, and actually, declines in employment and equality occurred (Todaro,69).

Two main streams of thought can be demarcated within the *structural- internationalist* approach are identified as the *dependence model* and the *false paradigm model* . The *dependence model* takes a neo-Marxist/neo- colonial approach that views the problems of the non-industrial countries as being a result of the policies and structures permeating from the industrial/capitalist countries and the small legions of the powerful in the non-industrial countries, known as *comprador elites,* who support the existing power structures and make a concerted effort to maintain close ties with capitalist elites in the developed countries (Todaro,62). This perspective sees the non-industrial countries as lacking any significant control over the conditions that dominate the lives of the people living in these countries such as terms of trade, interest rates, and commodity prices that results in a perpetuation of conditions that are disadvantageous to them. Despite the forces against them however, the non-industrial countries have displayed outstanding examples of high levels of productivity and effective mobilization of resources under some very adverse conditions. For instance, it is quite remarkable to consider the extent to which huge amounts of financial resources were amassed in order to then be devoted mostly to the coverage of foreign debt obligations incurred from the mid-seventies onward.

The underlying potential embodied within countries of the Third World exemplified by scenarios such as those described above is one reason why writers like Andre Gunder

Frank contend that sociological thought concerning development has been empirically invalid and theoretically inadequate, resulting in policy prescriptions that are essentially ineffective. He resents the effort of the industrial-capitalist countries to incorporate the peripheral-capitalist countries into the dominant world system by imposing economic and social structures which undermine indigenous creativity and organization (Frank,1969:31). Similarly, he posits that development theories of the structural-functionalist vein fail to take account of the historical background of the peripheral-capitalist countries. An historical perspective would reveal the high level of social organization previously achieved by societies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, that if considered in combination with recent evidence of high productivity and significant capital generation would put the peripheral-capitalist countries in a new perspective in the eyes of those in the industrialized world (Frank,1969:40,41,47).

The second stream emanating from the *structural-internationalist* approach is the *false paradigm model* . This model views the failure of most development initiatives as being attributed to their misguided and/or misdirected origins. Projects and programs formulated by coordinators and those deemed *experts* from the industrialized countries who are unaccustomed to and unfamiliar with specific situations are more apt to employ unsuitable means and inappropriate technology in an effort to address a particular problem. A needless waste of valuable resources can be an inevitable outcome of the failure of those working in development to be fully cognizant of the fact that as outsiders coming into a community they must familiarize themselves with the social, political, and economic context within which the community operates. The recognition that communities function in a larger society of which they are in constant interdependence is vital, and as such, centres of power within and outside the community must be incorporated into any development program (Tagumpay-Castillo,11). The unavoidability of these outsiders bringing some intellectual baggage into the development process in the form of ethnocentric attitudes and elitist approaches gives cause for concern as to the appropriateness and effectiveness of the resulting process (Tagumpay-Castillo,3,20). Likewise, high expectations that the infusion of large sums of capital will help alleviate problems of development are not well founded. Concerns arise as to the possibility that large injections of money can actually hinder the necessary indigenous creativity from entering the process and enhancing its chances for success. The tendency for large sums of money "to support the implementation of ideas rather than to *generate* ideas" fosters the prospect of technique dominating over innovation (Tagumpay-Castillo, 19).

On the other hand, it must be noted that this does not mean that the introduction of anything new has to be rejected on the basis that it is unfamiliar and not fitting to the culture of the community. If introducing new ideas or new methods is adaptable to their circumstances and improves the quality of life by saving time and labour, chances are likely that it will gradually meet with acceptance among the members of a community. The important thing is to keep the vibrant elements like innovation and creativity active in the process and be cautious of applying broad techniques that do not leave the project or program open to adaptation. Lastly, the propensity of development technicians to gravitate towards implementing grandiose schemes under circumstances of limited resources must be recognized as likely resulting in a disservice to those on the receiving end. A new mentality needs to be incorporated into the development process that, at a minimum, gives some consideration to the idea of "thinking small" over the desire to plan "big" (Tagumpay-Castillo,9,14,16).

Perspectives on development that have echoed some of the sentiments expressed above have been represented in the writing of both Denis Goulet and E.F. Schumacher. Goulet views development as a process that should enhance the chances of a people to establish a firmer control over their destiny. Moral and humane issues of economic development then become of particular concern, and in this respect, he suggests that specific ethical strategies be incorporated into any development process that would, for instance, provide for popular participation in planning and decision-making. Schumacher, while expressing values similar to Goulet, addresses the inclination of development schemes emanating from the West to be attracted to the idea of bigger being better. He is concerned with the imposition of the Western ideological perspective which believes that unquestioned growth is the preferred route to economic well-being. In the process, he raises important issues related to the use of small-scale or intermediate technology to resolve some of the problems of development. He relates technology to the economics of development in proposing alternatives for improving the social and economic well-being of people. In terms of alternative trends in development processes, it is evident that, while they may not be entirely unique, the ideas brought forward by these two writers in particular are noteworthy enough in the context of this discourse to make a more in depth examination of their work appropriate.

i) DENIS GOULET: A HIGHER STANDARD OF THINKING

Denis Goulet devotes a considerable portion of his writing to emphasize the necessity of creating the proper awareness among people of both industrialized and non-industrialized societies as to the hazards of pursuing economic growth strategies embedded in the Western ideological orientation for development. Consciousness-raising that evolves into a different perspective within each individual on how to conduct one's everyday life would help to reveal the costs of the drive toward ever increasing material accumulation. He considers this as necessary in developing a realization that the accumulation of goods has little to do with the process of development as it is the control over one's destiny that is integral for real progress to occur.

Goulet looks to the origins of the contemporary social crisis within modern Western society as being the point at which the moral component was divorced from economics. For Goulet, this separation occurred at the time of the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and the resulting acceptance of the ideas that it professed. Previous to this, profit-seeking lacked legitimacy to the extent of being considered an act of sin (Goulet,1971:5-6). The outcome for modern society is an increasing faith in empirical science rather than for any moral imperatives, and it is the rationalist ethos which ultimately evolves that Goulet perceives as making it difficult for any theory to attempt to incorporate morality into the development process. In such an environment, theoretical work in the social sciences is hard-pressed to compete with the perceived omnipotence of the natural sciences. When combined with the multiplicity of value systems in modern society that exist within ever changing social conditions, it contributes to an increasingly complex social environment that makes the formulation of an all-encompassing theory tenuous to say the least (Goulet,1971:8,11).

The onset of the Industrial Revolution and the increased reliance on technology meant that industrialization would bring new power to those countries adopting the capitalist mode of production. This new power would be channelled into energies that focused on ways of imposing upon the less-powerful countries. The imposition of different ideological values would be witnessed in the transformation of economic structures of the weak countries to the extent that they became suppliers of raw materials and importers of finished products. This effectively inhibited any further progress in the economic, political and social spheres. The disruption of ecological systems and established social processes served to hinder the ability of these less-powerful countries to adjust to the newly imposed dynamics (Goulet,1971:39-40). The less-powerful countries are easily put into a vulnerable situation where any challenges to the global power relations that emerge are effectively frustrated so that any potential threat to the dominant position of the industrialized countries is thwarted. Indigenous cultural values are eroded in the face of "*modern* values of productivity, efficiency, and impersonal relations" (Goulet,1971:47,49). Consequently, these indigenous values become stigmatized as being "traditional", that is, of questionable worth and a form of "cultural trauma" occurs in the non-industrial countries as development becomes a process of painful transition where basic societal institutions come under scrutiny and "values which formerly guaranteed social cohesion now become problematic" (Goulet,1971: 50,56).

The drive toward economic growth, especially as defined within the Western ideological framework, will undoubtedly mean that modern technology will have to be embraced wholeheartedly. The dilemma of the technological push is that while it is a status symbol that brings prestige and is perceived as a ticket to modernity by non-industrial countries seeking to enhance their economic potential, it inevitably flies in the face of established cultural values and imposes new restrictions on society. New values surface to prominence to confront "traditional" ones and these centre around values of "rationality, efficiency , and problem solving". Goulet's idea of being "rational" meant:

> ...viewing any reality as something which can be broken down into component parts, analyzed, reassembled, manipulated in practical ways, and measured in its effects (Goulet,1979: 429).

"Efficiency", in terms of the Western model, is determined by the ratio of inputs to outputs in the production process where considerations as to quantity and profit override those of quality and utility. Similarly, factors of the production process that result in pollution of the environment, urban congestion, and worker alienation are not considered as factors to be figured into any calculation of efficiency. The aspect of efficiency is but one element in the capitalist production process, but it demonstrates how this process as a whole contrasts greatly to what pre-capitalist societies considered as essential elements in determining why and how production is undertaken. A final aspect considered by Goulet is that the "problem solving" procedure adopted under the Western technological imperative is one that revolves around a detached analysis and incorporates more manipulative processes. This ensures that values giving precedence to dominant interests and established power structures persevere (Goulet,1979: 429). This type of analysis then comes to be applied to the problems of production in peripheral-capitalist countries rather then ensuring that the production process is undertaken for the interests of everyone.

The biases inherent in the technologically dominated development process tend to promote large scale projects over small scale ones, and high financial inputs instead of labour intensive schemes. Approaches to development of this nature blatantly disregard the dynamics within non-industrial countries where there is an over-supply of labour and a shortage of most other resources. Furthermore, the potential exists for social and cultural upheaval to result from a development process that completely alters the symbols and institutions by which people make sense of their world; their immediate environment, kinship and other social relations, and time honoured rituals (Goulet,1979: 430). The possibility of such upheaval being wreaked upon societies of the non-industrial countries makes one pause and reflect on the latent dangers which exist within any development initiative. Awareness of the potential impact of a development process shaped by the Western model is an important first step, but taking concerted measures to avoid unnecessary upheaval through an alternative analytical approach and model of development is what Goulet really argues for.

Goulet stresses the interdependence of relationships in our world today where the impact of actions in one part of the world has direct effects in regions far removed from their origins. In this respect, he frames these ongoing dynamics of development quite provocatively when he coins the phrase "the shock of underdevelopment". Goulet's intention in using such terms is to bring a perspective that "the shock" which shakes one's consciousness must transcend through both the "developed" and "underdeveloped"[sic] worlds. For people in the "underdeveloped" world , "the shock" becomes an awareness that their situation is one to which they need not be forever destined. For the people of the "developed" world, "the shock" results from an awareness that the extent of the destitution involved goes well beyond the boundaries of the non-industrialized world and the fact that their own societies are underdeveloped in many respects (Goulet,1971:26,31). In light of these analytically derived conclusions, the prime objective of development then is that it should not evolve into a process to emulate the lifestyle of those in the industrialized countries as there are fundamental flaws in the functioning of everyday life in these societies as well. This point must not be lost to both the leaders and masses within the non-industrial countries as well as those directing the development programs from the industrialized countries.

The recognition that there are potential strengths and weaknesses within both types of societies would signal an important phase of consciousness awakening that could have profound effects on the people in these societies. This new awareness allows an opportunity for a change to take place, not only in individual self-perceptions, but in the structures of society itself. A critical consciousness that comes to realize that development does not mean increasing material goods, or investment only for profit and possible geopolitical and ideological motives will challenge the predominant attitudes directing development policy. Realizing that the societies labeled *underdeveloped* may actually have a higher level of development "humanly, esthetically, and spiritually" than societies labeled *developed* would bring a whole new perspective to the development process (Goulet,1971:26-27).

A new perspective should then be of the sort that gives consideration to the fact that modern industrialized societies have forms of underdevelopment that, although different from the non-industrial countries, are nonetheless as debilitating to their own progress as the constraints experienced by the non-industrial countries. The emergence of a different perspective would also be significant in eliminating the paternalistic attitudes toward non-industrial countries that have emanated from the industrialized countries. This paternalism encourages a dominant relationship to form between the two types of societies that will be reflected in the policies and filter into the programs of any development process initiated (Goulet,1971:25). Paternalistic attitudes are framed within an ethnocentric bias which distorts the perception of non-industrial regions to the extent that it does not account for the true capabilities embodied within these regions. The evolution of an overall enlightenment along the lines described above will give credibility to a perspective that de-emphasizes the technological imperative, and for instance, focuses on the structural defects of the global economic system and all aspects of international relations that work to keep the non-industrial regions from achieving their full potential (Goulet,1971:30).

The deficiencies within established theories to adequately address how human needs should initially be determined and ultimately be provided is a particular aspect of the theoretical mainstream that Goulet takes issue with. He is critical of the three major economic frameworks used as prescriptions for the gratification of needs: the autarkic system, the free market system, and the state planned system (Goulet,1971:236). An autarkic system is what Goulet describes as one which is content with satisfying the basic survival needs as a minimum, the free market system as one that is preoccupied with generating profit that is dependent upon high consumption patterns, and a planned economic system that is directed by the state as one that gears production to giving priority to increasing "national power" that enhances prestige within the international community (Goulet,1971:236-237). In an effort to consider a different approach to the question of needs, Goulet posits that there must be a shift in perceiving priority needs as being comprised solely of that which is material in nature. To contrast this orientation to needs, Goulet presents a classification of needs in a progressive manner that could be useful in analyzing a development situation. He contends that it would be of greater value to have needs classified in a way that brings more clarity to the issue, and to this purpose presents three levels of needs: those of the first order, those for personal enhancement, and those for luxury (Goulet,1971:240).

The satisfaction of first order needs would mitigate personal and collective vulnerability. Vulnerability could be lessened in terms of having access to amenities ranging from agricultural necessities such as storage facilities, to transportation, to control of the means of production, or to education. For Goulet, it is the provision of needs of this order that is essential before one could pursue progressively higher needs. Enhancement needs are those that psychologists would refer to as "actualization needs" that serve to develop a sense of control over one's destiny. These needs are necessary for creativity and innovation to emerge in order that people realize their full potential by exploring and examining alternatives that enable them to test themselves. An environment that fulfills these needs for people to test their potential has the value of providing important experiences that add to their knowledge and personal improvement. The last level of needs identified by Goulet are luxury needs that, while possessing the potential for seemingly wasteful expenditure, also have an inherent quality of increasing personal self-esteem and collective prestige. The caution to be exercised is to ensure that the first two levels of needs are met before valuable resources are devoted to this last level of needs. The value of luxury needs is found in the creativity they inspire within individuals and improving the quality and cultural esthetics of life in general (Goulet,1971:241-245).

Having set this framework to confront the vagaries of the development process, Goulet goes on to suggest that it is necessary for a "higher standard of thinking" to be adopted when undertaking this process. Accomplishing this would allow the required creative research and innovation of techniques to materialize in the effort to realize an improved quality of life. A higher standard of thinking, according to Goulet, would involve the curbing of nihilist consumption patterns, the resistance to greed, and acquiring an inner conviction in terms of provision of development assistance that would be based more on a sense of universal human solidarity rather than merely for economic and political ends (Goulet,1971:238,248-250). The end result of such a transformation of thinking and action is what Goulet hopes would be a form of development that was more authentic.

The form of development that is customarily prescribed by the industrial societies is what Goulet refers to as "pseudo-development" (Goulet,1971:250). This form of development lacks authenticity in its intentions as it perpetuates the dominating aspects of international relations that keep the peripheral-capitalist countries in a situation of servitude. Additionally, this form of development accentuates economic, social, and political structures that sustain an unequal distribution of resources both within societies and internationally, that fails to challenge the prevailing values emanating from the industrialized world. Goulet's contention is that unless those directing development programs from modern industrial societies make some fundamental changes to their own value orientations there will be little chance for "authentic development" to emerge. Important to this end is that those in the industrialized world have an obligation to engage in some far reaching austerity measures that would require utilizing resources more wisely and have them directed to people in need rather than cater to the whims of the mass consumer society (Goulet,1971:252-253). Further to this point, the importance of incorporating attitudes of an equal partnership in the development process must be stressed in order to instill a belief that everyone has an equal stake in its outcome. In this way, the chances of engendering a more appropriate development process will be enhanced.

A truly authentic development strategy would, in Goulet's mind, have to ensure that cultural diversity is maintained which is integral to instilling a social identity in the face of possible rapid social change. The homogenizing characteristics of Western ideological orientations to development that promote standardization, specialization, and uniformity stifle individual creativity that is more likely to thrive in a culturally diverse society (Goulet,1971:263-264). There is great deal of creativity that is required when confronting development obstacles and unanticipated consequences of various programs and projects in a variety of circumstances and environments, and it is this creativity that opens up the process to the expression of new ideas and values. Evidence of culture taking precedence over economics, technology, and politics in the development process would be a sure sign that authentic development was emerging. Similarly, the establishment of a form of dialogue between development technicians and local people directly affected by the development process would serve to impress upon all involved that an *authentic* process has been initiated that will be undertaken on the basis of both equal participation and equal responsibility (Goulet,1971:266,272).

ii) E.F.SCHUMACHER: BUDDHIST ECONOMICS AND APPROPRIATE SIZE

While keeping primarily with the same themes concerning the economics of development as Goulet, Schumacher widens the discussion when he delves into Eastern philosophical orientations that concentrate on economic aspects of Buddhist philosophy which relate, for instance, to attitudes regarding natural resources, personal character development, and the nature of work. This philosophy presents an orientation to economic activity based on restraint and living within means for meeting local needs so as to keep the strains and pressures of economic pursuits to a minimum. Schumacher initiates his argument with the assertion that the assumption among modern minds that "the problem of production" has been solved through the application of empirical science and advanced technology is ill-founded. This perception is reflected in attitudes which disregard the fragility of the natural world and a production process that has divorced mankind from any connection to nature, and instead, engendered a perception that nature's only value lies in its domination and exploitation by us (Schumacher,10-11). This exploitation of the natural environment in order to feed insatiable consumption demands pushes the tolerance of nature to an extreme where its continued deterioration comes to threaten human existence as well. Ultimately, a vicious cycle evolves that is fueled by the fear of any threatened deterioration of one's standard of living and the perception that any such threat must be countered by increased production which, in turn, further undermines any natural renewal of resources. In this respect, the modern industrial process and the complementary free market economy undermine themselves by destroying the very capital resources upon which they depend (Schumacher,13-14,17). The viability of a community or society as a whole is dependent on the resources it has at hand and the subsequent replenishment of those resources. No matter what the underlying economic philosophy may be, common sense would dictate that a society which relies upon a resource base that cannot be replenished places itself in a precarious position which could lead to a disastrous course from which it may not easily alter or reverse (Schumacher,55). A consideration of the aspects of capitalist production that threaten the quality of life of people in all societies prompts Schumacher to call for a re-evaluation of prevalent Western consumption patterns and methods of production similar to that proposed by Goulet.

This ideology of the West is bound by its faith that the *good life* can only be achieved through continued prosperity aided by advances in science and technology. In the process, ethics and morals tend to be pushed aside in an effort to bring about even greater prosperity which subsequently perpetuates an increased waste of both resources and productive capacity. Any consideration as to the actual utility of the production being undertaken is disregarded as an atmosphere of "selfishness" and "greed" becomes the accepted standard. In this context, it is "greed" that comes to be the driving force that propels people's ambitions and distorts their perceptions of reality as emulation and competition are established as the norms of society (Schumacher,20,26-27). From the Buddhist way of thinking, the competitive spirit which comes to dominate in this blind pursuit of wealth is essentially a burden enslaving those infected with a philosophy based on "greed" (Schumacher,52).

Consequently, in order to determine the degree of success and economic growth, modern society relies on measurements in terms of GNP figures that do not properly reflect the reality experienced by the most marginalized segments of the population. Any arising social problems are then left to ferment as these anomalies are considered to be outside the economic process . As Schumacher explains:

> If whole societies become infected by these vices (greed, envy,etc.), they may indeed achieve astonishing things but they become increasingly incapable of solving the most elementary problems of everyday existence. The Gross National Product may rise rapidly: as measured by statisticians but not as experienced by actual people, who find themselves oppressed by increasing frustration, alienation, insecurity, and so forth (Schumacher,27).

With the spiritual and moral elements of the social fabric given less credence or weight in a modern industrial society, a psychology of greed to gain one's rightful share of prosperity permeates instead. Fear of not gaining one's rightful share breeds competition over resources that reduces trust in personal relations and increases opportunities for violence to surface that threatens the security of all (Schumacher,29). The quest for economic success commits those in modern industrial society to an alienating and "soul-destroying" work process in the "pursuit of material ends" that culminates in an existence which is, for the most part, perceived as hollow in its lack of spirituality (Schumacher,33).

In reference to a Buddhist philosophical perspective, Schumacher reveals an orientation to work that is quite different from that of the West. The Buddhist perspective provides a basic distinction between what work should not be (as is found in the West) and three basic elements that should define the function of work. These basic elements are:

> ... to give a man a chance to utilise and develop his faculties; to enable him to overcome his egocentredness by joining with other people in a common task; and to bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence (Schumacher,49).

The emphasis that Buddhist philosophy places on the value of work to foster personal qualities conducive to a richer life that is not defined in terms of material acquisition is evident. By providing channels for creative activity, work's true value is realized in the form of personal development rather than primarily as a means of enhancing consumption potential. Employment for all who are capable of working becomes a basic priority for an economic philosophy of this nature in order to develop the skills and maintain the self-esteem that ensure the security and continued viability of individual communities (Schumacher,51).

The application of a Buddhist economic philosophy has consequences for both the short-term and the long-term which makes it deserving of consideration in the context of any economic undertaking. This philosophical orientation provides an appropriate middle ground between economic growth that has no regard for the ultimate consequences of unrestrained expansion of production and the limited productive capacity within "traditional" societies. Within Buddhism, this is referred to as the *middle path* and it is one which seeks a natural balance in any activity, and the avoidance of distorting influences (Schumacher,56).

Time can be identified as one of those distorting influences in modern society functioning as a vital factor that further distinguishes this type of society from more traditional forms of social organization. The value of time is witnessed in its consistent measurement, apportionment, and break down into ever more diminutive fragments so that it may be commodified into some monetary equivalent. The competitive environment of modern industrial society thereby dictates that those who can accomplish an economic activity in the least amount of time will be the most successful and gain the greatest prosperity. Therefore, the underlying logic embedded within this ideology implies that the greater and more grand an undertaking, the faster it will speed the acquisition of economic rewards. In common terms, this is referred to as "economies of scale" and it promotes the initiation of ever larger units of production as a means to economic ends of continued growth and increased wealth.

A contrary approach would be to consider the benefits of small-scale economic initiatives. In this regard, Schumacher points to the relatively autonomous and more personable attributes that accrue to economic activity organized on this basis. Furthermore, the suitability of small-scale economic activity under circumstances where limitations are prohibitive is realized in its ability to facilitate the most appropriate and most needed form of action. The desired result would then be to achieve the greatest degree of freedom and flexibility for both an individual or a community in order to pursue the fulfillment of needs (Schumacher,58-59).

This is not to imply that large-scale economic organization should be disregarded outright. The trick is to pursue a *middle path* between the two forms of economic activity that will result in balanced development. The issue of appropriateness of size should first of all be determined by the nature of the undertaking. A basic premise might be used which considers that if the contemplated size of the economic undertaking increases the vulnerability of a population by threatening its independence and security, it would prompt reevaluation. Being alert to the dynamics at work when considering the size of the undertaking may well serve to mitigate the alienating and stress-creating tendencies of the development process (Schumacher,60,64). Unfortunately, the prevalent economic policies which emanate from industrial society make a concerted effort to eliminate the human factor in their formulations in terms of emphasizing the technological imperative and a materialistic ideology that shows little concern for the real needs of the majority of people. Therefore, those who lack land or capital and only have their labour to give are left behind in an economic strategy that is designed more for the maintenance of established privileges (Schumacher,67-68).

For Schumacher, small-scale economic development would more easily incorporate the most marginalized people within a society and be more conducive to moving away from a "dual economy" and *dualism* throughout society in general, and move towards a cohesive societal environment (Schumacher,153). The dangers of dualities forming in a society was foreseen by Schumacher in terms of a divisiveness that would produce alienation, tension, stress, and social breakdown at every level. This *dualism* represents the great disparities that exist between the rich and the poor, both between nations and within nations. The divisions within a given society will predominantly be along lines of distinction that form between modern- urban and traditional-rural modes of production which are respectively perceived as the superior and inferior sectors of society, as are distinctions between the educated and the uneducated. Eventually, this all comes to be manifested in an ideology that structurally favours that which is deemed superior over that which is deemed inferior. The end result is that the ***dualism*** permeating throughout a given society determines that the inferior sectors will, for the most part, be denied the opportunity of improving their lot simply due to the fact that the power and control of the superior sectors serve to maintain the duality (Todaro,64-65).

The phenomenon of a "dual economy" within societies has consequently resulted in the formation of an informal economy, or what has been termed the "invisible world". In some peripheral-capitalist countries, these informal sectors of the economy play an important role in the everyday life of the most marginalized people of these societies. Informal sector workers will most likely employ practical knowledge and collective strategies that embody their social organization and cultural traditions in order to sustain themselves. This sector utilizes the resources that are most readily available and it goes some distance towards absorbing the masses of unemployed in the peripheral-capitalist countires that the formal sector there is either unable or unwilling to absorb. These informal sectors are invaluable in peripheral-capitalist countries as they provide examples of the innovation, creativity, and diversity that may be required to operate effectively within the dominant economic structure of society (*Development Dialogue*,56-58).

From the observations in this section it becomes obvious that the development process releases a variety of opposing and competing forces which over the course of time "produce advances and regressions, or perhaps stalemates", thereby making the process unpredictable and an incredible challenge to most attempts at explanation (Goulet,1971:101). The challenge of understanding the development process can be underlined by a scenario where a recipient country acquires enough development to disrupt the traditional ways of doing things but not enough to employ modern techniques, thus leaving the country to struggle towards becoming a modern society in what Goulet terms, "a socially pathological manner" (Goulet,1971:106-107). Nonetheless, development is undoubtedly both uncertain and inevitable, and the limitations embodied within the process must be recognized before successful applications are forthcoming. Scumacher puts it simply in these terms:

> ... development cannot be an act of creation, ... it cannot be ordered,

> bought, comprehensively planned ... it requires a process of evolution (Schumacher,157).

Development is fraught with unforeseeable consequences and the direction which the process takes may in fact be quite different from that which was originally planned. Some of this uncertainty can be mitigated however, and Goulet posits that instead of mankind rushing to acquire knowledge at the expense of wisdom:

> ... modern science and ancient wisdoms must learn to speak to each other with mutual respect and formulate new unifying principles around which to organize disparate realities (Goulet,1979:431).

The call has gone out among many contemporary thinkers for the emergence of a sound approach to development derived from a new consciousness among those of both the industrial and the non-industrial countries. An enlightenment that would result in an understanding of how actions within developed societies can adversely affect prospects for an improved quality of life in non-industrial countries (and realizing how the reverse is true regarding quality of life in industrialized societies) would serve to reduce self-serving development policies and have people take more responsibility for the lifestyle they demand. Progress in society would then be seen as being more likely to occur in both social and economic terms if an inner conviction develops where wasteful and needless consumption is avoided and a conscious effort is made to conserve resources.

c) TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

There is some repetition of the major themes reflected in the ideas presented in these first two chapters. These themes have focused on engendering forms of organization which keep channels open for the expression of individual creativity, stemming unwarranted demands, and maintaining an appreciation of the natural environment while pursuing economic activities in order that a lifestyle evolves that would ensure the well-being of all. Establishing a cooperatively oriented society that would function for the collective good is another one of the themes which keeps resurfacing in these chapters. The hope that a society evolves that would be more conducive to reducing tension between individuals, personal stress, and acts of violence is an ultimate objective that would see people living more in harmony with fellow members of society and their natural surroundings as a whole. Thus, seeking a simple, less complicated way of life would more conducive to forming a secure and peaceful co-existence with everyone and everything with which one interacts.

The themes emanating from the perspectives that have been presented to this point have provided some insight into the forms of social organization that would be more conducive to nuturing positive aspects of human nature for initiating efforts to improve the quality of life for marginalized populations. In this respect, the perspectives outlined in these first two chapters have set the framework from which an attempt can be made to construct an alternative development model. The alternative model of development to be formulated here will incorporate aspects of an anarchistic philosophy to social organization as well as contemporary theoretical perspectives to the development process.

Anarchists want to replace present social institutions with ones more compatible with a collective lifestyle and the fostering of collective attitudes within the individual. The establishment of new institutional forms is intended to create a new type of society where individuals would not be held in subordination to the State, outside market forces, or outside resources. Therefore, the alternative development model that incorporates an anarchistic philosophy to social organization would have to be comprised of the following elements:

1) Autonomy from the State - this would be defined in terms of the concept of a self-governing society. The significance of this concept is perceived with respect to allowing for the greatest degree of spontaneity that permits people to take the responsiblity for initiating an action to improve their condition.

2) Autonomy from the market - this would be defined in terms of the elimination of the concept of contract and market exchange. Social organization in this context would rely on the idea of reciprocity.

3) A non-hierarchical social structure - this would be in contrast to that which is of a pyramid form. No one would be subordinate to anyone else. This would be a classless society based on equality and respect.

4) An absence of the profit motive - Production would be undertaken on the basis of needs, with a consumption ethic based on usefulness,quality, and necessity. This non-market model of production would seek a balance between production and consumption that would result in a more humanistic, non-competitve, and unexploitative work environment.

5) A participatory form of decision-making - this is for the purpose of engendering direct democracy that enhances the possibility of creativity and innovation to surface with regard to problem solving. This will foster self-esteem among the participants.

6) No dependency on outside resources - this will establish a sense of self-reliance and solidarity among the members of the community with regard to provision of needs and accomplishing tasks.

7) Collective ownership of property - property ownership would be based on need so that the interests of the majority are served.

These anarchistic aspects of the alternative development model are not presented in any particular order, and the same is true for the presentation of the aspects of contemporary perspectives to development that will be part of the model. Contemporary perspectives on development are concerned with characteristics of the production process, the technological imperative, the appropriateness of the size of the project, the ecology, and needs, among other things. Specific aspects of the production process that are an integral part of these perspectives pertain to; 1) not allowing rationality to dominate over reason; 2) quality and utility being emphasized rather than quantity; 3) and avoiding the homogenizing and standardizing tendencies of a production process designed to emulate the industrialized countries. Incorporating these elements into the production process is intended to make the best utilization of the resources available. Doing this would mitigate the chances of perpetuating undue damage to the natural environment and sustaining the renewability of resources. Such a production process would also be the least disrupting to the culture and social relations within individual societies as well as foster individual and collective creativity.

Other aspects of contemporary perspectives of development that would be included in the alternative development model would be:

1) To avoid technically complex and capital intensive development initiatives in favour of ones using local resources (both material and labour).

2) To instill a new consciousness among the people so that a self-perception arises that they are not destined to poverty, disease,malnutrition, and illiteracy. In this way, the people come to recognize their true capabilities. Also, instill a new consciousness devoid of the competitive ethos that thrives on greed and neglects spiritual and moral elements.

3) A conception of needs that is not strictly focused on those which are material in nature but also satisfy the need for a social environment where a sense of security, esteem, and solidarity are present.

4) Have a dialogue between development practitioners and community members and ensure everyone is involved in decision- making process.

5) Empasize small-scale development initiatives as this type of activity is more in tune with the experiences of the local people. This approach would de-emphasize

growth for growth's sake, and instead, strive for balance between means and needs. This approach would stress a collective work environment that would develop personal abilities, not consumption potential. As well, this approach would utilize traditional knowledge bases and collective strategies which the people identify with and give legitimacy and validity to.

The points outlined here now provide a loosely structured, tentative model for an alternative approach to the development process. This model will allow for some comparison to be made with respect to the extent to which the aspects outlined in the model are reflected in the initiatives instigated within two self-help movements. The two self-help movements that will be introduced are empirical representations of attempts to bring about positive social change by employing development techniques of a more indigenous design in order to provide individual and community needs. The self-help movements to be explored and compared in this discourse are considerably different in many respects, but they also share similar strengths and weaknesses and strive for similar fundamental objectives. The next chapter will present the first self-help movement to be examined, which is Kenya's *Harambee* movement. this will be followed by an examination of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka in chapter 4. Each movement will be presented within the context of the historical dynamics which have contributed to its significance in the post-colonial period of each respective country's development. The discourse will then delve into the particulars of each movement before making any attempt to assess the degree of effectiveness each has had.

CHAPTER 3
THE *HARAMBEE* MOVEMENT IN KENYA

The *Harambee* movement in Kenya emerged out of a specific social, economic, political, and cultural context that must be considered if the dynamics which surround the origins and growth of this movement are to be understood. This Kenyan context has been shaped by factors of geography, natural resources, economy, and a varied ethnic composition that gives this country characteristics unique unto itself. In this respect, the first part of this chapter will be concerned with sketching the country's demographic make-up in order to provide some awareness of the elements of ethnic and cultural diversity, class structure, and the urban/ rural dichotomy that can contribute to social harmony or accentuate social tensions and stresses. Similarly, political dynamics will be examined that determine how power and wealth are distributed and the degree of equality and social justice that prevails in Kenyan society. These factors will all be considered within three historical time periods significant to Kenya: the pre-colonial period, the colonial period, and the post-colonial era.

This section will be followed by an examination of the educational development of Kenya within the same historical context described above. The development of a national education system in Kenya was similarly affected by the internal dynamics noted previously. The importance of education in the eyes of both the people and the government in terms of individual and national advancement respectively, will be underlined in this section. The development of education in Kenya was one of the major factors contributing to the emergence and eventual growth of the self-help movement throughout the country.

The final section of this chapter will present the evolution of the *Harambee* movement specifically within the context of the various elements in Kenyan society detailed at the outset of the chapter. The movement will be outlined according to aspects of its roots in traditional Kenyan society and the origins of its formal organization during the colonial period. The movement will then be examined in terms of its tremendous growth after the country's independence. Included will be an examination of the movement's organization, resource bases, and relations to the country's overall development strategy. Additionally, aspects of this movement will be presented that concern how self-help projects originatte and progress at the local level. This will allow some determination as to whether there is an equitable distribution of resources through this type of development initiative, or whether some segments of the rural population benefit more than others.

a) KENYA IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Kenya has attempted to mould a dynamic and modern society since its independence from British colonial rule three decades ago. This effort is undertaken within the confines of a society steeped in a rich history where ethnic diversity abounds and yet there is a drive to form a common cultural identity based on a combination of values derived from traditional African society and an ideology based on African-style socialism. The historical and social context within which the Kenyan nation evolved is reflected in the particular style of social organization of the country with characteristics that have influenced its social structure to the present.

The social organization with which Kenya finds itself today is largely the remnant of the country's historical past as a colony of Britain. The organization of Kenyan society in the colonial period revolved around the African, European, and Asian groups which were present, and the ensuing racial ideology that promoted the conception that the Europeans were the superior of the three major racial groupings. Demographically, in 1948 the African population made up 97% of the total population, while Asians totaled about 2% and the Europeans comprised only 1%. By 1979, the percentages for Asians and Europeans had dropped to only .04% and .2% of the population respectively. The manner in which Kenyan society was organized along racial lines was significant with respect to the impact this would have on the institutional structures that developed. In particular, the fundamental political, economic, and educational institutions that affected people's everyday lives would be conceived under this arrangement (Mwiria,261,262). The country's major social institutions were established according to the prevailing cultural imperatives which dictated the preservation of British political and bureaucratic traditions. Control of these institutions was retained by the colonial regime with the administrative and clerical positions being the sole purview of the Europeans. This form of social organization occurred despite the demographic distribution of the races that put the Europeans at an obvious numberical disadvantage, although this did not inhibit them from inculcating a sense of their superiority in relation to the indigenous population through flagrant ceremonial displays of European customs and traditions.

In terms of the indigenous population specifically, there is estimated to be over forty-one indigenous ethnic groups spread throughout Kenya's seven provinces. These groups are unique unto themselves but share common beliefs and values common in traditional African society. Each ethnic group gained part of its identity from the manner in which they undertook to provide for their sustenance. Their production methods where either basic hunting and gathering, pastoral, or a combination of agricultural and pastoral. Every group had developed a form of socio-political organization that was best suited to utilizing the immediate resources available to them. Reciprocity, respect for elders, personal creative skills, and responsibility to one's family and tribe as a whole were values that ranked prominently in these traditional societies and served to form a definite code of ethics to promote the emotional and physical well-being of the people (Akong'a,178-179). Historically, people were divided into tribes that were related to each other through clans constituting one or more villages where members were united by common language and law. These tribes had no chief (with the exception of the Masai) and judicial matters were likely to be handled by a council of elders. Land was not held communally as individuals had the right to use land assigned to them, however, the concept of outright ownership of the land was foreign to them. Social organization was based on a concern for the welfare of the tribal community as a whole over that of any individual (Dilley,8-9).

Fifty per cent of the indigenous population of Kenya is comprised of four major tribes of which the Kikuyu constitute the largest proportion followed by the Luo, the Luhya, and the Kamba (Bienen,135). Linguistic classifications also form a basis of identity for the different ethnic groups within Kenya with the largest linguistic grouping being the Bantu (Mburugu/Ojany,8). Though there are approximately five different linguistic groupings throughout the country, there are dialects used to aid intra-ethnic communication or composite languages like Kiswahili that has its basis in Arabic, Portuguese, and Bantu (Akong'a,178). The Kenyan government proclaims Kiswahili as one of the two official languages of the country with English declared as the language of business and the civil service.

Geography proved to be very influential in forming Kenya's historical development. For centuries, the lowland coastal region received an array of traders of the likes of Arabs, Indians, and the Portuguese. While the Christian missionaries began to establish themselves throughout the country by the mid-nineteenth century, it was the rich agricultural lands of the Kenyan highlands that would become the domain of the European settlers. This fertile region served to establish plantation agriculture primarily for the production of coffee and tea for export, causing the displacement of a large portion of the native population (Akong'a,180). The choicest land came to be the reserve of the European settlers and their favoured position in the agricultural sector was secured through regulations that excluded Africans from the economic process by prohibiting them from growing export crops in competition with the white settlers. In this respect, Kenya was perceived by Britain mainly as a source of raw materials and a market for European manufactured goods (Dilley,13).

The disadvantaged position of the Native African caused by the economic and political structures imposed through colonial rule was further aggravated by their cultural degradation. Missionaries had brought deeply ingrained attitudes and biases since their arrival in the mid-nineteenth century that give virtually no consideration to the values and traditions of indigenous African culture. Perceptions persisted among the missionaries that aspects of African culture were "primitive and repugnant to morality, justice and civilization" (Akong'a,180).

Although East-Africans had experienced various outside influences over the centuries, formal control was not exercised by the British in Kenya until 1895 when the British declared Kenya as part of the *British East Africa Protectorate*. When Kenya was formally made a colony of Britain in 1920 an administrative system that reflected culturally biased attitudes and the vested interests of the Europeans was imposed upon the native population without any regard to indigenous forms of organization. Burdensome taxes were applied to the Africans and repressive labour laws were enacted that helped further an unjust social organization that saw the division of Kenyan society form along racial lines under these new administrative policies (Akong'a,180). British policy in Kenya centred predominantly on establishing a white colony. White settlers originated from the English ruling class and came to hold command over the local administration allowing their point of view to dominate and eventually materialize into government policy (Dilley,275-276).

The principal organs of government in Kenya were set up at the time of the country being declared a British colony in 1920. A governmental organization typical among British Crown colonies was established with a Governor, Executive council, and a Legislative Council (Dilley,20). The white settlers were able to maintain their political and economic power both formally and informally through elected representation in the Legislative Council which gave them control over financial matters, by channeling power to the local district councils where they could direct regional resources, or by having a good working relationship between government departments and producer boards. This arrangement enhanced the accumulation of capital among the white settlers and enabled them to determine the manner in which surplus in the colony was to be allocated, while in the meantime effectively eliminating the Native African from the political process (Swainson,8).

After World War II, there was an economic shift to what became identified as a *global economy* and the increased influence of large multinational corporations that ensued. Production by the white settlers began to decline in this period and there was a shift in emphasis to the production of cash-crops for the world market. The influence of international capital dominated by the multinational corporations was witnessed in the extent to which they were able to determine both the quantity and quality of the production undertaken and extract the surplus realized from the process (Swainson,9-10). There was a growing frustration among the Native African population during this period with regard to the ongoing discrimination and exploitation to which they were subjected. This resentment culminated with one of the most dramatic political events in Kenya during the post-war years when the Mau Mau rebellion broke out in 1952. Although the revolt was suppressed by the colonial regime, it produced some fundamental policy changes that permanently undermined the influence that the white settlers held and opened opportunities for Africans that would translate into more economic freedom and increased political power.

Two examples of policy changes that were realized as a result of the conflict was that land holdings would no longer be based on race and that Africans would be allowed to grow crops for export. An agricultural revolution was expected with the implementation of these land reforms. However, the lack of an industrial base and aspects of the global marketplace that favoured the multi-national corporations stalled such attempts. In fact, the land reforms served to increase the commercialization of land and polarize the rural population. Rural class divisions were accentuated and the land reforms became perceived as creating circumstances that increased "concentration of land resources in fewer hands, and increased fragmentation especially among the poorer peasants" (Migot-Adholla,156-158). By 1961, a land resettlement scheme was implemented that included the Highlands where the majority of Europeans had settled. However, this scheme was criticized for incorporating into the resettlement plan only a small fraction of the land previously reserved for the white settlers. In addition, accusations surfaced regarding the favouritism accorded the Kikuyu tribe in dealing out parcels of land over those groups originally displaced by the Europeans (Migot-Adholla,160). This situation only served to intensify ethnic tensions between the different tribes in the rural areas that carried forward into the post-independence period and remain to this day. Ethnic rivalries intensified during the colonial period and are viewed in retrospect as emanating from a deliberate attempt by the colonial regime to divide loyalties and suppress the coordination of any mass movement that could challenge the regime (Thomas-Slayter,306). In this respect, the social organization that evolved in Kenya throughout the colonial period has determined the specific social dynamics that would impact upon Kenyan society and shape it in the years following colonial rule.

Kenya's independence from British rule in 1963 heralded a period of high expectations and fundamental social change. However, as already intimated, the experience of the British-colonial administrative apparatus had formed the foundation of the structural and institutional framework of Kenyan society that was to emerge in the years immediately after independence. The decade leading up to Kenya's independence had been somewhat tumultuous with power shifts of the political, economic, and social nature occurring that ultimately resulted in the emergence of an indigenous bourgeoisie. The hegemony of power that had resided with the British administrators and settlers was now transferred to a new indigenous elite based in the ruling party. The Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) formed the government of Kenya at this time and has remained in power virtually uncontested to this day, although officially, Kenya is no longer a single party state as of December 1991. KANU has, for the most part, operated to maintain the vested interests of the indigenous bourgeoisie through the use of the state apparatus that initially promoted large-scale agriculture and then shifted its focus on building an industrial manufacturing base. Similarly, this state apparatus has maintained "conditions of capital reproduction" that favour the indigenous elites by keeping a strict civil order that restrict radical elements and is repressive toward organized labour (Swainson,16-17).

The political dynamics which evolved from the early years of Kenya's independence have served to intensify social divisions within Kenyan society that have been drawn along ethnic and class lines. Kenya's social class structure has centered around land ownership and the access to government administration, the KANU party hierarchy, the diplomatic corps, and parliamentary seats that this economic power provides. Political, economic, and social power in Kenyan society is therefore assured and additional perquisites for those within this clique may include more readily available credit at below market rates, positions on influential regulatory boards, and higher quality education for their children. Hence, there is not a high priority within the inner circle of government to bring about any dramatic changes that would transform the system as it stands (Thomas-Slayter,307).

Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta was from the Kikuyu tribe and tended to put this ethnic group in a more favourable position within the civil service or in terms of government policy, whether in actuality or as perceived by those not of Kikuyu heritage. No matter which social group or community one perceives has unjustly benefitted from the system, control of political participation in Kenya since independence has been exercised predominantly by the civil service. A tradition of patron-client relationships has developed that allows alliances to be made that can cross ethnic, class, and regional lines and operates to provide some social mobility for individuals. A powerful *patron* will use his influence to provide opportunities for jobs or contracts for people from his ethnic community, while at the same time ensuring that he keeps close links to those people of his social class who may not necessarily be of his ethnic background. The result of this well established pattern is that those in Kenyan society who are more disadvantaged are more apt to use these patron-client networks to address their immediate needs than to circumvent or challenge the existing system. Therefore, aspirations remain high among the mass of disadvantaged people that social mobility is possible if the proper patron-client relationships can be cultivated. Powerful ethnic identities and a lack of class consciousness sustains this presumption, and any inclination to pursue class oriented activism remains diffuse and unarticulated (Bienen,192-193). Thus, patron-client networks have been utilized as a tool for social control that serve to accentuate social divisions and contribute to economic disparities based on ethnicity and class (Holychuk,66). The ruling elite is composed of a small circle of individuals who remain isolated from and largely irrelevant to the masses below. The political system that has emerged in Kenya has its advantages as representing one of the more stable regimes in Africa but at the expense of creating ethnic tensions and a faction-ridden ruling party.

An attempt to reduce the influence of the Kikuyus within the government was undertaken by Kenyatta's successor, Daniel arap Moi. Since his arrival in 1978, Moi has instigated some fundamental changes in the power structure in his efforts of pursuing a policy of ethnic diversification and enhancing his own control of all vital institutions. Furthermore, Moi has worked to build the power base of the KANU party itself by making the party more active at the community level where party representatives have gained as much distinction as local Chiefs, and *youth wings* have been formed to add to the party's base of support. The increased activity of the party at the community level enables it to be a part of local project organization and fund raising for self-help efforts, or to be the initiator of such activities itself. One achievement of this shift in political strategy of the Moi regime is the visible pervasiveness that KANU has achieved in different aspects of everyday life in Kenya (Thomas-Slayter,314).

President Moi perceives Kenya's future as being dependent in part on the development of a "national culture" which will work to bring a degree of overall unity among the diverse ethnic groups in the country. This "national culture", as described by Moi, has its foundations in principles specific to *African socialism* that are part of African history and tradition, and promote peace, love and unity. Adherence to this type of philosophy is foreseen by Moi as providing the best opportunity to prevent the nurturing of unwanted elements such as corruption, and instill qualities of morality and national pride instead (Akong'a, 182-183,185).

Efforts of the Kenyan government to initiate a rural development plan has depended on a strategy of decentralization of government policy planning, and a decision-making process at the local level that would ensure the effective implementation of any community projects. The diversity of the different regions of Kenya in terms of ethnicity and geography makes a rural development approach of this nature most appropriate. This approach had the advantage of accomplishing two things in particular; it encouraged local participation in the policies and projects directly affecting the people concerned, and it had the prospect of causing the least disruption to the cultural identity of those subject to the impact of development activities. The instrument orchestrated by KANU for implementing this process for rural development was to be the establishment of Divisional and District Development Committees (Akong'a,185). These local committees had the added purpose of directing the government's overall development strategy for the nation as a whole through the participation of those at the local level. This process was therefore seen as an opportunity to diffuse the tension in rural areas caused by people's frustration with their quality of life, plus bring government development policy to every corner of the country.

Kenyans point with pride to various gains (particularly in terms of health and education) that they have achieved as a nation since independence. Infant mortality rates have fallen by 39% and life expectancy has risen from 35 years in 1962 to 57 years by 1985, an increase of 63%. With respect to education, there have been dramatic increases in enrollment for both primary and secondary schooling. In the ten years from 1978 to 1987 primary school enrollment increased by 68% while secondary enrollment increased by over 100% for the same period (Mburugu/Ojany,12-13). These achievements have been attained under intense pressures of population growth as Kenya has one of the highest population growth rates in the world with population increases of 40% per decade or approximately a 3.3% increase per annum (Mburugu/Ojany,10). Such population growth has strained social services to the utmost with the strains on urban centres compounded by a massive influx of people from the rural areas who add, among other social problems, to the unemployment crisis. Despite these pressures however, Kenya has also attained relatively stable economic growth when compared to other sub-Saharan African countries.

With its location on the eastern perimeter of the African continent, Kenya is bordered by Tanzania to the south, Uganda to the west, the Sudan and Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the east, and the coast of the Indian Ocean to the south-east. The population of the country as of 1990 was estimated to be 23.2 million with over 80% of it based in the rural regions. Per capita income is about $360 with extreme economic disparities persisting as made evident by 1989 World Bank statistics that reveal that the top 20% of the households have acquired 60% of the income while the bottom 20% receive only 3% (Thomas-Slayter,304). Kenya's economy has experienced peaks and troughs over the decades according to the eccentricities of the global market place and certain international events. The repercussions of the international oil crisis in 1973 had a particularly detrimental economic effect on Kenya as an oil-importing nation. Other factors that have contributed to the economic hardships of the Kenyan people include droughts in both 1980 and 1984, uncertainty in the global energy and financial markets, and fluctuating prices for coffee and tea exports (Ikiara,59-60). Kenya's heavy reliance on international trade is witnessed in terms of the exports of commodities from this primarily agriculturally-based economy, and in terms of being an importer of manufactured goods and natural resources due to the country's lack of any major mineral reserves. By 1987, tourism had overtaken both tea and coffee as the greatest source of foreign exchange and all indicators point to this industry remaining as an important source of revenue for the future (Ikiara,63).

Overall, the Kenyan economy is identified as being a mixed economy with public sector comprising 49.5% of total wage employment in 1987, up from 23.9% in 1963. Steady increases in government expenditures has raised concerns as to the appropriateness of shortfalls in government revenues that will require more borrowing from both domestic and international sources (Ikiara, 64). Although Kenya has experienced relatively stable political and social environment throughout its years of independence and it has one of the better performing economies in comparison to other African nations, there are a number of economic and social problems that persist. Unemployment, poverty, and an unequal distribution of income rank the highest of the problems which continue to plague the country today. For many among the poorest of the population, education is viewed as a strategic avenue out of their present disadvantaged situation. A great deal of hope for an improved quality of life and sense of security for the future is foreseen by struggling parents in the resources that their children can acquire for the competitive social environment of a modern society.

b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

Education has historically formed an integral part of everyday life of the individual when considered in terms of traditional Kenyan society. Education in traditional societies revolved around the *rights of passage* of the individual which focused on personal relationships and development of specialized skills. This educational process would ensure that tribal identity would persist through successive generations within the community (Sheffield,2). The main intent of an education of this nature was to allow the individual to make a valuable contribution to his community by being an active participant therein. This educational experience conveyed the essence of the rules and regulations of a particular society, providing security through conformity to these entities, with the ultimate objective of preserving one's cultural heritage. Informal education was undertaken mainly through oral means involving the recitation of myths, legends, proverbs, and folktales. This process made certain that the young would be instilled with the values and attitudes that were embedded in the knowledge of customs and traditions of the tribe (Abreu,16-17).

Formal traditional education existed to ensure that the proper personal traits were instilled in the child. This type of education included aspects from the teaching of important skills for later in life, to the importance of spirituality for the child's intellectual development. The content of the education depended largely on the environmental surroundings that the local people had to confront and the basis by which the community sustained itself. Certain things were taught at particular stages in life and the women were responsible for the training of the girls while the men were responsible for the training of the boys. The formal education process culminated with an initiation ritual at the age of eighteen that included a series of tests for adulthood and a circumcision ceremony (for both boys and girls). This education stressed the collective nature of traditional society, and was essential for maintaining the continuity of the community (Abreu, 18-20).

The first outside influences to affect the form and direction of African education came from the Arabs who had contact with East Africans centuries before the Europeans. Quaranic schools were established for the purpose of perpetuating the Muslim faith and culture by way of emphasizing reading and writing (Arabic) and religious study (Abreu,21). The European educational influence in Kenya is attributed initially to the missions that were established there, commencing in the mid-nineteenth century. The motivating force for the missions initially coming to Africa was on the pretense of social reform and human welfare by focusing on actions that would ultimately realize the elimination of the slave-trade (Mutua,15). The decades of virtually free reign for the missions in Africa did not begin to end until 1895 when Kenya was declared as part of the *British East Africa Protectorate*. The dominating presence of the missions would continue into the 1920s, however, with respect to inculcating educational influences in Africa that were steeped in European traditions. Up to this time, the colonial regime there had willingly allowed the missions to take responsibility and expend their own resources for the provision of schooling in the *Protectorate*. Land occupied by missions to build schools and churches where villages already existed led to the traditional communities there coming under the direct control of the missions. Schooling for the children and protection from their traditional enemies were the two major incentives promised to entice the Africans to become Christians, thus, efforts to establish Baptism and Conformation rites would mean that traditional rites and rituals would have to be challenged directly. The colonial administration in Kenya did not establish a Department of Education until 1911, but continued to fund the mission schools through grants for a number of years due to the perceived importance of the work they were doing (Mutua,26,29).

The colonial government was to take a more formal and direct interest in the development of education in Kenya after the completion of the comprehensive report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1922. This report would have a significant impact by directing the action the colonial government would take with regard to education development. This government initiative was to signal the beginning of the end for the domination of the mission schools in determining the direction of education in Kenya. The authors of the report viewed the challenge of education in Africa as that of adapting the schools to the realities of the African communities. They foresaw that the Africans would retain their rural existence which meant that their education would have to address what they perceived as their squalid, disease-ridden, and lackadaisical lifestyle. The primary educational objectives they outlined would be concerned with almost every aspect of an individual's life from character development, health and the bestowing of knowledge in agriculture and handicrafts, to what was deemed to be proper family-life and wholesome recreational activities. With the endorsement of their proposals, the government moved to gain greater control over educational development through imposing a set of regulations and standards to be met by educators. The government's intentions became reflected in the Education Ordinance of 1924, which allowed the Department of Education to take an active role in schooling through the control of the curriculum, examinations, and the licensing of teachers (Kay, 279-281).

The mission school's influence was further eroded with the conflict erupting in 1929 as a result of the confrontation between the cultures of the Europeans and the Africans. The Protestant missions had forbidden the practice of circumcising girls as part of the Native African initiation rites and threatened to expel from school the children of anyone who did not renounce this ritual. The Kikuyu people in particular were extremely offended by this ultimatum as it attacked not only their traditions but also their very identity. Their response was to create an independent school movement known as the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) that would provide an alternative education and ensure the maintenance of the Kikuyu culture. The KKEA served as a powerful force that the Africans could rally around as thousands of Kikuyu boycotted the mission schools and a grass-roots politicization took place that was partly anti-colonial in nature and partly an assertion of their cultural identity (Natsoulas,219). Although the missions foresaw the demise of the independent school movement without financial backing by the government, they remained active and expanded to fifty-four schools within five years and caused another organization to be formed known as the Kikuyu Independent School Association (KISA). Each independent school was under the direction and responsibility of a local committee from the community that took charge of teacher recruitment, fee payments, and fundraising. Above these local committees was a central committee that was responsible for educational policy and dealing with authorities (Natsoulas, 222-224). The strong cultural identification and close community ties represented in the successful operation of the independent schools is a good example of the traditions in indigenous African societies that have served the cause of the self-help movement that flourished after independence. This earlier politicization of the Kikuyu people could be said to have been an important foundation from which the *Harambee* self-help movement took some of its inspiration.

The conflict over the circumcision issue gave rise to some other fundamental issues surrounding the presence of the missions in Kikuyu territory. The Kikuyus began to question the extent to which the missions claim to title of the land that they occupied was valid, and even if the ownership of the church and school buildings on that land was exclusive to the missions. Another fundamental issue was whether the mission's objectives were strictly of an educational nature, or whether they were preoccupied with evangelical concerns (Mutua,33). The independent schools rejected the government syllabus and exams to promote African attitudes of independent thought. Their appeal grew steadily and as African student enrollment rose in these independent schools both the colonial government and the missions realized that they could no longer be ignored. This caused the government to reconsider some basic assumptions regarding the existing education program and eventually some policy changes were adopted (Sheffield,28-30).

The independent schools continued to confront, and on occasion, defy government authority with respect to the education of Africans. Their attempts to restructure education policy concerning Native Africans focused mainly on the provision of an education that would make them more competitive for employment in modern sector jobs like the civil service or business. They saw vocational and agricultural training as a concerted effort by the Europeans to have the Africans remain as second class citizens in their own land (Natsoulas,226). However, this independent initiative would meet its end in the face of a reactionary colonial government that felt threatened by the uprising of a national resistance movement advocating the independence of Kenya. The Mau Mau rebellion of 1952 led the colonial government to declare a state of emergency and accuse the independent schools of being a breeding ground for subversive radicals. Both the KKEA and the KISA were charged with subversion and a ban was imposed on the independent schools that forced the closure of all their educational facilities (Natsoulas,229-230).

Although the KKEA and the KISA schools are examples of how independent initiatives of Native Africans emerged and thrived, it is clear the colonial regime did not hesitate to exercise its omnipotent authority to suppress such initiatives when they appeared to gain too much influence. The political structure, as evidenced by the actions taken in the period just described, shaped the social structure with regard to how one's race would dictate the roles and life chances one could expect in that society. Consequently, this social structure came to be reflected in the education system which developed to the time of independence. Some insight as to the degree to which the education system in Kenya was stratified along racial lines can be traced back to the Education Department's annual report of 1926 which discloses that there was a five-fold difference in expenditure per pupil that favoured the European students over the Africans (Sheffield,22). This discrepancy is even more pronounced if a person considers the proportion of the total population each racial group represented. There have been three basic qualities identified in the stratified Kenyan education system that developed under colonial rule: community development education for the majority (the Africans), technical training for the minority (the Asians), and academic education for the privileged (the Europeans) (Sheffield,24). This was the education system that evolved by the time of independence and was to remain in place as a guiding influence for education policy and programs for decades to come.

Independence inspired a drive toward national unity, and with a sense of a new social order emerging the demand for schooling intensified as administrative posts in government and industry came open to Africans. The challenge then was to provide the necessary skills that would allow the Africans to contribute to the anticipated growth and prosperity of the new nation. The emphasis to ensure the provision of an educational system that would deliver the properly equipped people is evidenced by early policy statements of the post-colonial government along with the tremendous expansion of educational services in the years after independence.

Shortly after independence the Kenyan Education Commission released a report that outlined some basic personal qualities that it felt the education system should foster in its students. The qualities that were thought to cultivate "a sense of belonging to a nation and a desire to serve the nation" are enumerated as follows:

> 1) a commitment to national unity, but not uniformity; a tolerance and respect for tribal, racial, and religious diversity;
>
> 2) a respect for the "customary aspects" of African culture; and a willingness to assist elders in understanding the implications and demands of social change;
>
> 3) an acceptance and appreciation of social change and the new attitudes required for modernisation;
>
> 4) a desire to preserve traditional feelings of social equality; and absence of snobbery and an ease of communication between those of different backgrounds;
>
> 5) a restraint based on historical instincts and moral values, on (untempered) individual competitiveness; and
>
> 6) a spirit of self-help, "the mark of virile and self-confident people who are not fatally contaminated by the habits of supine reliance on the Government to do everything for them" (Koff/von Der Muhll,20).

In 1961, only 29% of the male students and 9% of the female students enrolled in school finished the eight year course of study in the primary and intermediate levels, with only 2%

going on to the secondary level. By 1968, the numbers of students completing their first eight years of school had improved dramatically with an eight-fold increase for males and a twenty-fold increase in the number of females. Furthermore, by this time all Kenyan schools had achieved racial integration to some degree along with Africanization of the curriculum. The government schools, however, have remained as the primary instrument of elite generation in Kenyan society and certain tribes would be represented in this elite group than others. Those from the Kikuyu, Luo, and Luhya tribes serve as examples of how just the factor of being strategically located near urban centres served to advantage them in terms of being afforded more job opportunities due to their access to the better quality education provided in the cities. Other tribes that were not as strategically located or not as well stationed in Kenyan society with respect to wealth and political connections had far less representation in the school system. Instead of implementing a policy that attempted to accomplish an even provision of educational facilities in every region of the country, the government chose to cater to the demands of regions and groups which most vocally expressed a desire for educational facilities (Olson,46-48).

Disproportionate allocation of resources between regions in Kenya is exemplified by differences, not only in educational facilities, but as well as in the health services and housing assistance that is made available in the different provinces of the country. The pattern of development is one factor that led to such discrepancies and this pattern can be largely attributed to the country's colonial past. Another factor contributing to this phenomenon is the tendency to have political authority centralized at the expense of regional leadership. The extent of regionalism in the education system is well reflected in the nation-wide results of examinations for the Kenyan Certificate of Secondary Education. Top standings in examinations are consistently achieved by those schools which receive the highest amount of funding from the government. The situation is aggravated somewhat by government policy that requires that schools in the poorest regions of the country seek funding from local parents and the community in general in order to maintain facilities or provide new amenities (Daily Nation, March 14,1992, p.20).

At independence the central government, through the Ministry of Education, took responsibility for curriculum development, examinations, and the setting of common standards for primary schools. The administration and operation of the primary schools was left to municipal and county councils. Initially, primary schools were funded in three ways: school fees, local government revenues, and central government revenues. In 1970, the central government took over responsibility from county councils for financing education along with services such as health and roads. This did not affect the jurisdiction of the municipal councils, but after this date the central government collected school fees and stopped making school grants to county councils. Primary schools were now run by District Education Boards composed of government officials, educators, and private citizens. School fees made up 30% of the funding base for primary education in this period with the remaining 70% coming from general revenues (Fields,1-4).

Over the years, the precipitous growth of primary education in particular has put increased demands on all facets of the education system. Primary school enrollment has risen from a total of 296,800 in 1963, to over 5 million by 1987. The increased participation at the primary levels has correspondingly put pressure on secondary schooling facilities. Likewise, education receives the highest proportion of the national budget (Daily Nation, Dec.12,1991,p.xvi). The percentage of the budget devoted to education has increased from 12% in 1964 to 37.7% in 1988, and this is a trend that gives cause for concern as to whether the government can sustain any further expenditure increases (Hughes,213).

The impressive growth and increased participation in the school system has not paid a proportionate amount of dividends, disappointingly, in terms of lowering unemployment levels. Every year it is estimated that there are over four times the graduates from the school system than there are new jobs created. This reality has not stemmed the demand for education as people strive to enter the sphere of modern sector employment due to the fact that the agricultural sector has become increasingly less economically viable . In this respect, education is sought as the last hope for rural families struggling for survival. According to United Nations studies, only about 14% of Kenya's population was employed in the modern sector in 1986, leaving fully 82% of the labour force deriving their livelihood from agriculture. However, with Kenya having only 20% of its land arable and facing the prospect of ever increasing population growth, the agricultural sector is being strained to the limit (Hughes,213-214).

With the hopes and aspirations of rural families being pinned on education, scarce disposable income of individual families is being absorbed more and more by schooling for their children in order to provide future economic security in the modern sector. Government employment initiatives have not emphasized agriculture as an alternative, and the introduction of the 8-4-4 system in 1984 with a new curriculum intended to prepare students more for the wage-labour market has further lessened the appeal of the agricultural sector in the minds of the rural students (Hughes,215,217).

The new 8-4-4 system divided a student's tentative education program into three segments: eight years of primary school, four years of secondary school, and four years of university. The 8-4-4 system was viewed as a practically-oriented curriculum in the hope of giving more employment advantages to school leavers. Technical and vocational training was stressed in an attempt to introduce students to the *world of work* and also to emulate the newly industrializing countries of South-East Asia (Daily Nation, Dec. 12, 1991, p.xvi). Criticism of the new system quickly arose to bring attention to the circumstances where schools were not prepared to implement the changes in terms of classroom facilities like workshops and laboratories to teach industrial subjects, agriculture, or home science. Additional criticism was levied to address the fact that no evaluation or subsequent adjustments were made after implementation of the program. Similarly, it was not long after the introduction of this new program that it became readily apparent that the high cost of implementing the 8-4-4 system and the lack of qualified teachers would be formidable obstacles to the program's success (Sunday Nation, Feb. 16, 1992).

The cost and quality of education continue to be the dominant concerns which plague the delivery of education in Kenya. Writers analyzing the Kenyan education experience have commented that it has obviously been easier to expand education programs than to increase employment opportunities (Hughes,217). Costs have gone out of control, and quality and access have suffered as a result. Nevertheless, the demand for education by the populace has created a momentum in education expansion all of its own. This will be difficult to curb without incurring the rath of the masses, although it must be recognized that the education system is absorbing a significant amount of scarce resources at the individual family level and from the nation as a whole.

School fees can rise by as much as 50% a year and are exceeding the reach of many parents without even considering them contributing to enhance school facilities (Daily Nation, March 28,1992, p.21). Individual schools now face the prospect of being wholly responsible for recurring expenses when the government goes ahead with its plans to discontinue school grants. The government's responsibility will be confined to professional support services like inspections, curriculum, and examinations.

The atmosphere of persistent educational demand, spiralling population growth, and ever increasing unemployment that has been presented here is that within which Kenya's education system has developed over the last three decades. Correspondingly, it is Kenya's economic, political, and social environment that has caused the *Harambee* movement to experience such exceptional growth since the country's independence. The *Harambee* movement has allowed incredible advances to be made particularly in the expansion of education services throughout the country. The provision of education is a specific aspect of this self-help movement that will be examined in the next section. However, an overall picture of the movement will be provided that will consider all aspects of how the movement functions and what contributes to its strengths and weaknesses.

c) THE *HARAMBEE* MOVEMENT AS SELF-HELP DEVELOPMENT

The rallying cry of "Harambee!" went out at the time of Kenya's independence from Britain. Literally meaning "let's pull together", this sentiment was appropriate in this heady period of high expectations for self-realization at both the individual and national level. In the first few years of independence after 1963 though, disillusionment began to set in as aspirations for an improved quality of life were confronted with the reality of the global marketplace and the constraints inherent in the social structure of Kenya that stifled most chances for any improvement for the masses. Thus, it was in the years from 1967 onward that the aggressive spirit of *Harambee* really began to capture the imagination of the grass-roots of the population. The people's commitment and support led to the phenomenal growth of this movement, but it was not long before aspects of regional and social disparities, ethnic rivalry, and elite domination could be identified in the "number, type, and size of *Harambee* projects" undertaken throughout the country (Mbithi/Rasmusson,31). This section will examine the evolution of the *Harambee* movement together with elements of its organization and how community development projects are initiated and implemented locally. Factors which contribute to uneven or inequitable development will also be explored to provide an overall assessment of the dynamics involved in the functioning of this self-help movement so that a proper perspective of this development initiative may emerge.

Earlier I stated that *Harambee's* origins are traceable to; a) certain cultural traditions, as well as to; b) the current social and political context as it grew out from the country's recent colonial history. An examination of variuos aspects of the *Harambee* self-help process here is intended to reveal how close the reality conforms to this assertion. Concepts of mutual assistance, mutual social responsibility, and mutual benefit are integral to the functioning of traditional Kenyan communities in their perpetual efforts toward self-reliance. These concepts, in turn, are vital to understanding the extent to which *Harambee* has been embraced by the grass-roots population. *Harambee* itself relies heavily on concepts that promote a sense of collective initiative for the common good as opposed to individual gain, it focuses on the utilization of local resources, and it stresses the fulfillment of what locals deem to be immediate priorities. This self-help community effort is instigated through a *bottom-up* approach to decision-making in the project planning and completion process that involves the participation of the whole community (Mbithi/Rasmusson,13-14). Organization at this level should theoretically allow for the greatest possible flexibility and necessary creativity that is required in the development process where natural and capital resources are deficient and labour is abundant. Self-help efforts such as *Harambee*, however, must inevitably encounter government authority either at the district, regional, or national levels that, while encouraging the grass-roots initiative emanating from this movement, at the same time, tries to strike a balance between this independent activity and the possible constraints it might unleash on its own authority. An examination of the impact of the combination of these different aspects will be essential to a more thorough understanding of community development through *Harambee* .

The high expectations of Kenya's most marginalized people which arose due to a prevailing sense of nationalism and a hope of new opportunities becoming available with independence was followed by frustration with the lack of any significant social change. This unleashed an unprecedented growth in the *Harambee* self-help initiative. In the ten years from 1969 to 1979, the dollar value of contributions to self-help projects alone increased more than four-fold (Keller,55). By 1976, approximately 40% of all capital development in rural areas in Kenya was achieved through *Harambee* and the government estimated that by 1983 about 10% of all national development expenditure would be by these means (Orora/Spiegel,243/Thomas:1988,5). An example of how enthusiasm is generated in a community in response to a proposed project is provided by the following descriptive passage:

> In a typical self-help project, participants walk to the project site from the sublocation and surrounding areas. ...The first to arrive start playing drums or singing and some dance short rhythms just as assemblies in traditional dances usually start. Each specific group assembles under its flag which may be marked with the sign of its totem e.g. the lion, the eagle, and specific colours. All groups assemble in a general dance or work formation. The dignitaries such as chief, headman, clan leaders, project committee members, visiting politicians and wealthy businessmen and citymen sit near the table of the Master of Ceremonies. ...The Master of Ceremonies will from time to time interrupt activities to make announcements. For example, he will outline the aims of the project, the possible benefits of the project to all involved, the probable external and government assistance. He will introduce dignitaries

> and expect them to contribute. All contributions are announced publically and all sing songs of praise to the contributor. If contributions are meager, the songs will exhalt the wealth of the conspicuously rich and appeal to their love of their local area. ...Donations which continue to pour in may be money, eggs, poultry, food, cement, a lorry full of sand or even the land on which the project stands (Mbithi/Rasmusson,27-28).

The major thrust of *Harambee* projects has been directed towards the building of schools, health centres, and churches or mosques, with school construction constituting the greatest proportion, being about 58% of all projects (Ngau,525). The importance of education as perceived in the minds of the people as the instrument by which they can acquire social mobility and economic security is demonstrated in the tremendous amount of school construction that has been undertaken through *Harambee*. An estimated 75% of all secondary students were enrolled in *Harambee* schools by the 1980s (Shiman/Mwiria,369). Much of this school construction was initiated under the pretext that the government would eventually take over the financial responsibilities for the operation of the *Harambee* schools. The government actually incorporated such a take-over program between 1972 and 1973, but the unrestrained expansion of *Harambee* schools prompted the government to back away from this program and focus, instead, on encouraging some restraint in school construction (Keller,58). With the government retreating from its financial responsibility for rural education development, the financial strain of any self-help education initiative would ultimately fall on the local people themselves.

Historically, the demand by Native Africans for schooling began to strain the resources of individual communities and the country as a whole as far back as the 1920s. Some autonomy in attempts to meet this demand for education for Africans was originally conceived with the formation of the partly elected Native District Councils in 1924. These councils had the responsibility of organizing volunteer labour for community projects, plus being given the added authority to levy additional taxes for local development initiatives. Some resentment was expressed over the issue of being coerced by a government directive that promoted the completion of local projects like roads, health related amenities, and primary education facilities by way of unpaid labour. But people conformed with some acquiescence in the hope of achieving some improvement in the quality of life for them and their families. Such aspirations continued to keep the demand for schooling high, causing local education development to depend more and more on the good-will of volunteer workparties and financial contributions from the immediate community (Hill,18-20).

The reasons why people contribute to a project may range from perceived personal benefit and proximity to where they live, to familiarity with the project leader, or loyalty to the clan (Mbithi/Rasmusson,152). Statistics indicate that local individuals make the greatest sacrifices to ensure the completion of self-help projects in their communities, and it is estimated that 90% of all contributions of labour, materials, and money comes from ordinary citizens. This percentage may be comprised not only of those presently living in the community, but those past residents who have achieved some social mobility through employment in the urban centres and are expected to make financial contributions to projects which affect their clan or tribe (Orora/Spiegel,247-249). Social pressure to make contributions appears to be an increasing phenomenon revealed in surveys (1974) done on project participants. In Western Province and Nyanza particularly, as high as 13% and 21% of the respondents respectively expressed that they now feel compelled to contribute rather than it being a wholly voluntary initiative. Scenarios of this sort reflect the direct personal pressure that can be put on individuals to not be perceived as going against the collective will of the community (Mbithi/Rasmusson,152-153).

Once a local *Harambee* committee forms, decisions are soon made as to how funds will need to be generated to complete the project. This may be conducted in several specific manners, or a combination thereof, in order that financial and/or material support may be derived from members of the community. A grand fundraising kick-off celebration with invited guests and dignitaries may be presented as described in the passage quoted previously. Such ceremonies generate enthusiasm and inspire people to come forward and donate to the project to ensure its successful completion. Another method of generating funds may have "authorized" community members and other supporters from outside the community to make pleas for contributions from their neighbours and associates and issue receipts on behalf of the project committee. Alternatively, the project committee may calculate a direct assessment on individual households in the community that would stipulate the donation required. This assessment may be a flat rate, or it may be determined according to the wealth of the particular household. Poorer communities tend to rely on the former method, while communities with a wealthier population base tend to employ the latter method (Thomas:1987,469).

Non-monetary contributions are also welcomed and these may be in the form of skilled or unskilled labour. Usually a commitment of five or six days of work over a few months is deemed sufficient to fulfilling one's responsibility to the completion of the project as well as one's duty to the community in general. Tasks which are shared by both men and women will vary from the actual construction, to the making of bricks, or the clearing of brush and the digging of foundations. However, women contribute a majority of the unskilled labour necessary to run the primary and secondary schools, especially when they have school-aged children of their own (Thomas:1987,470-471).

The solicitation of contributions to a *Harambee* project is conducted under the philosophical basis that there is overall support throughout the community for the project being initiated. However, for those in the community who may be living a marginal existence and who are least able to contribute, this may not be the reality. In addition to being financially unable to contribute they may perceive the project as not being necessary or beneficial to them personally and feel that the demands placed upon them are prohibitive. The personal sacrifices and economic difficulties that a project may incur could then generate resentment within the community itself. Coercive pressures to contribute may be heightened by the possibility of sanctions against individuals or the personal embarrassment of individuals throughout the community. In extreme cases, the coercion may go to the extent of having personal property confiscated so that its value may be applied against one's assessment, or the coercion may be conducted through the threat of being refused the services emanating from a project due to an individual's lack of contributions (Thomas:1987,469).

The tendency for coercion to emerge in *Harambee* projects may be attributed largely to two major aspects inherent in this self-help movement. One aspect concerns the uncontained growth of *Harambee* projects that may result in a formidable strain being put on personal resources because of the sheer number of projects, thus leading to a reduction of voluntary contributions. The second aspect refers to difficulty of gaining unquestioned support and approval of everyone for all projects coming on stream in a particular region. Conflicting views with respect to the necessity of, or the ability to complete a given project may lead to a lack of commitment that will cause contributions to be withheld. For example, the number of projects undertaken over a five year period from 1968 to 1973 in a particular area had increased as much as four times. Instances arose in this period where only 36% of the projects were completed, leaving a majority of the projects in an ongoing status. This situation reduced enthusiasm and morale among the participants that further decreased the willingness of individuals to contribute and hindered the chances of the project being successfully completed. The increased opportunity for frustration and ambivalence to emerge among members of a community correspondingly increases the likelihood of a project being abandoned (Mbithi/Rasmusson,154-155).

In contrast to this, the reasons people contribute to a project can similarly vary according to personal preferences and priorities. Some benefits are direct and immediate, while others may be indirect and accrue over the long term. A direct and immediate benefit is provided by the example of the construction of a cattle dip which prevents disease in cattle, thus improving their growth potential and productivity. This results in direct economic benefit to the owners of the cattle. Health care, on the other hand, will serve the long term benefits of the residents of a community and provide a variety of indirect and direct advantages to their overall well-being. Thus, if community members can foresee that a *Harambee* project will bring personal advantage in terms of improved income, treatment or prevention of disease and closer proximity to services that will allow for savings of time and labour, or reduce costs related to transportation and child care, contributions in money or in kind will be readily and willingly forthcoming. Other considerations would recognize that income-earning capabilities would be improved with a healthier populace, and the children would be better prepared for a competitive modern society with the provision of educational services. Furthermore, more employment opportunities and an enhanced local economy would be realized from the added demands emanating from the new services in the community (Mbithi/Rasmusson,156-161).

There is an underlying issue however, as to whether benefits may accumulate more for some groups than for others. This can occur in instances where user fees are charged for services that have been established through *Harambee,* causing the more prosperous residents to have easier access to these services as they are more able to afford to use them. Likewise, the initiation of more complex projects is likely to have limited utilization for the majority of a community with only a few realizing any benefit from a project of a specific technical nature (Thomas:1987,471,475). The prospects of such trends being perpetuated can be attributed partly to the fact that projects are becoming more capital intensive and larger in size, necessitating higher contributions and the involvement of higher income groups to ensure completion of a project (Mbithi/Rasmusson,64).

While some districts are well-placed to cope with the increased financial and technical intricacies demanded of certain types of *Harambee* projects, other districts are being left further behind in their development efforts. A situation then arises where the wealthier districts in the country are more active in initiating and completing *Harambee* projects than the marginalized districts (Thomas:1987,473). Regional disparities within Kenya can serve as an important indicator in analyzing the impact of the *Harambee* form of self-help development. Distinctions between regions vary and can be designated, not only by geography and ethnic distribution, but in terms of wealth, population density, and closeness of relationships with influential central authority figures. These factors can, in turn, determine the type, number, and value of projects undertaken, the financial burden for the inhabitants of the district, and ultimately, the successful completion of the project and the chances for its continued operation thereafter.

Studies of self-help activity in Kenya have noted that aspects of geography that determine economic and social development, as well as population density, play an important part in the amount of development which is accomplished through these means. Districts which show a lower level of self-help activity are those which were arid or semi-arid with dispersed populations (Lillis/Bray,86). Areas where the land and climate are conducive to a greater productive potential correspondingly tend to have larger population settlements, and its is areas with such resource base characteristics that will inevitably be more conducive to the development of a self-help philosophy (Winans/Haugerud,340,344). Major factors noted in other studies that inspired a greater level of self-help activity was the degree of prosperity within the region, the ability to mobilize large enough numbers of people in order to achieve collective objectives, and the network of ties to outside sources of funding and political influence. In this respect, the number of guests from outside the community who visit fundraising events is conspicuously higher for the more affluent districts. Figures from studies on this issue indicate that 57% of these visits were to the ten most prosperous districts, while the poorest districts only received 1% of these types of visits. Wealthier districts are advantaged in several respects concerning the initiation and completion of self-help projects when compared to poorer districts. Having developed techniques to establish a well connected network of influential political leaders and patrons to which they can call on, the wealthier districts are better able to heighten enthusiasm for fundraising efforts. In addition, as wealthier districts tend to have larger population bases, more households can contribute and these households will find it less burdensome to meet their particular contribution requirements. Conversely, households in the more sparsely populated areas have to contribute proportionately more to projects and possibly be subject to coercion in the collection of contributions. The poorer areas also lack influential political ties and this contributes to insufficient levels of organization and inadequate communication networks with central authorities (Thomas:1987,475-476). The potential remains under these circumstances to not only maintain existing regional disparities but to aggravate them. Statistics on a regional basis consistently show that there are definite distinctions between the number, size and complexity of *Harambee* projects in addition to the total value of contributions to these projects between the wealthier and the poorer regions.

The increasing reliance on connections to political leaders to ensure the successful completion of a project, plus the absolute increase in the number and scope of projects that have emerged within the *Harambee* movement has given rise to a significant dimension of this movement, namely, its political nature and government efforts to control it. The small community level *Harambee* development initiatives of the 1960s had progressed to the district and national levels in terms of both scope and size. In order to address the issue of the movement's unrestrained expansion, the government sought to establish some planning priorities with regard to national development by putting the *Harambee* movement under greater bureaucratic control. Attempts to this end would involve striking a difficult balance between micro-level initiatives that were informal and populist, and macro-level development governed by formal bureaucratic priorities. Some intervention in the activities of *Harambee* projects came as early as the first of the Kenyan government's series of National Development Plans from 1964 to 1970, whereby some limited supervision and guidance for these projects was initiated (Ngau,530,532). However, the patron-client relationships referred to previously in this chapter were such that they could work against the government's own efforts to control the disorderly proliferation of *Harambee* projects and hope to reduce duplication and the expense of recurring costs related to institutions such as schools and health centres.

An influential patron could ensure that opportunities for jobs and contracts would be forthcoming to those of his ethnic or home community, and he could exercise his influence to procure approval and solicit government and/or international assistance for *Harambee* projects. Practices such as these emphasize how political *Harambee* development initiatives had become. The number of projects instigated and the success of funding drives in a given district came to reflect upon the reputation of the public administration official of that district. Political pressure grew when leadership qualities of a politician became attributed to the degree of *Harambee* development activities that were undertaken which benefitted his constituents directly (Orora/Spiegel,247-249). Evidence that the *Harambee* movement was becoming a fundamental part of the electoral process in Kenya began to emerge soon after independence. Candidates running for election made promises of support for specific *Harambee* projects and community members soon learned how the electoral process could be manipulated to their particular advantage. In this respect, *Harambee* has come to represent the very political system within which it is confined. In other words, it has come to be dictated largely according to the dominant power structure under which it operates (Thomas-Slayter,310).

When the Kenyan government formulated its *Development Plan 1970 - 1974* in the late 1960s the government's intentions regarding *Harambee* activity were clearly stated:

> ... the promotion of domestic saving and investment through the Harambee movement can only be maintained if self-help projects are properly planned and coordinated with the development in other sectors of the economy (Winans/Haugerud,336).

Therefore, by the early 1970s the government began setting standards and regulating *Harambee* projects through the establishment of the District Development Committees (DDC's). The DDC's have the power to deny government financial assistance in an attempt to incorporate self-help projects into the National Development Plan (Orora/Spiegel,256). The committees are organized by the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services. The community development assistant helps these committees make decisions on how projects should be initiated and financed. With a plan in hand, a district community development officer mediates between the requests of the counties and the districts and then presents a coordinated plan to the provincial planning officer who is under the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (Anderson,38). The DDC's encourage communities to organize themselves better in order to achieve fund raising quotas that would qualify them to receive some additional funding from the government. The establishment of the DDC's was hoped to allow for a process of mutual decision-making involving both the government and the community (Thomas:1988,11). In this way, the government could also orchestrate the development goals and priorities for the district through its administration of the Rural Development Fund which provides financial assistance for self-help projects. The competition for funds can be fierce and can become very political. In order to keep tensions to a minimum, the DDC's make a concerted effort to consider demographic statistics and "relative affluence" to determine the appropriate contribution quotas for projects which are a government-community funding effort (Thomas:1987,475). The dilemma presented for the government was how it could impose upon this autonomous initiative and possibly reject some politically sensitive projects while trying to promote a bureaucratically planned national development initiative.

Another consideration concerns the complicated bureaucratic requirements which could leave some community groups at a disadvantage when they do not have the expertise in dealing with what could be an overwhelming application procedure required by government departments. Administrative procedure requires that an application first be made to the Secretary of the District Development Committee in order to start a self-help project. The application is then presented to the Divisional Community Development Committee and the District Community Development Committee for their evaluation and recommendation. Requests for assistance that is either technical or financial require separate detailed applications outlining tentative phases of a project, proposed project leaders, previous project experience undertaken by the group, and the new services that will be provided by the project being considered. This process would appear to only aggravate a situation where a community is lacking in organizational skills and other vital resources as they will be perceived by the bureaucratic authorities as not having much of a chance of success when they can not provide such specific details, and most likely, they be refused assistance regardless of need. In addition, this bureaucratic process screens projects allowing the government to delineate between low or high priority projects according to whether they fit into the government's overall development objectives. Thus, requests for assistance for education and health projects may be turned down when the government anticipates that such local demands will lead to increased government expenditures to support the new social facilities. The prospect of projects with high economic returns taking precedence over those which are socially oriented then becomes a definite possibility (Mbithi/Rasmusson,166-167).

The success of these bureaucratic efforts to bring *Harambee* under some control was limited, in any event, by what has been identified, in part, to the Kenyan government's inability to adequately deal with the vast array of *Harambee* schools. Another factor limiting the government's efforts was with regard to cases of misappropriation of school funds, and to a great extent, due to the patrimonial style of political organization existing in the country (Mwiria,354). The patrimonial political structure in Kenya can be identified by its characteristics which favour traditional status and authority, deep cultural ties requiring loyalty from subjects or followers, power structures based on informal networks, and "clientelist relations" to maintain the power of those at the centre (Thomas:1988,24). Political institutions under this system depend on the cultivation of coalitions between "semi-autonomous elites" at the local, regional, and national levels, where loyalty is bestowed on a leader or leaders in return for certain rewards. The rewards evolving from these coalitions can result in patronage appointments to political office, and possibly access to particular resources that can be made available to followers (Thomas:1988,6-7). This patrimonial style of politics has permeated down to the local community level and is evidenced by the domination of local elites on the community *Harambee* committees. These local elites are involved in the initiation, planning, decision-making, implementation, and management of the projects undertaken in their communities. The *Harambee* committee membership tends to be constituted from those of the higher socio-economic strata with close working relationships with national level elites. Furthermore, the local elites on these committees tend to retain these positions without allowing for any circulation of committee members. Their position on these committees then evolves into a situation where personal status and power become paramount over the actual inherent value of the projects at issue (Thomas:1988,17-19). The result of this process is a stifling of the creativity and innovation necessary for the most marginalized people to realize their expectations, and instead, the projects initiated come to reflect the personal vested interests of the local elites (Ngau,529).

A final, but perhaps one of the most important considerations is the issue of the quality of education that is realized from the self-help education development efforts of the *Harambee* movement. Despite determined efforts of individual communities to overcome constraints imposed by funding shortages, bureaucratic eccentricities, or regional and social inequities in order to provide educational opportunities for their children, the quality of education the children eventually receive may not serve their interests in the long run. The quality of education provided through *Harambee* schools has suffered in terms of a lack of basic facilities and insufficiently trained teaching staff. Typically, the staff in those *Harambee* schools fortunate enough to receive some government funding are only 45% qualified, while the unaided schools have a staff of which only about 22% are qualified (Mwiria,362). Quality of education is most dramatically demonstrated by the performance of *Harambee* school students in nation-wide primary examinations. The average failure rate for those attending government- aided schools was only 3.4% between the years 1971 to 1975, while the average failure rate for those attending *Harambee* schools was 68% for the same period (Mbithi/Rasmusson,162).

Lack of quality education is demonstrated further when examining the school categorization procedure, whereby Kenya's secondary schools are rated on an A,B,C, and D scale, with 'A' as the highest rating and 'D' as the lowest. There are no *Harambee* schools in the 'A' category, compared to the 26% of the government maintained schools that are in this category. On the other hand, the vast majority of the *Harambee* schools (99%) fall into the 'C' and 'D' categories. This situation creates a frustrating scenario where students from the *Harambee* schools are prohibited from continuing on to the junior college level (government-aided high schools) because they fail to pass the national exams. This results in most of the *Harambee* students leaving school at the secondary level and contributes to the ever-growing rate of youth unemployment as urban employers increasingly demand higher qualifications. Consequently, the last resort for school leavers is to return home to their communities to work as unqualified teachers in a *Harambee* school, thus perpetuating the cycle of unequal access to quality education (Keller,66-68).

In summary, it would appear from the description of *Harambee* provided here that while the movement serves a definite and needed purpose in terms of rural development in Kenya it also leaves much to be desired. Among its participants, *Harambee* fosters a plethora of emotions from a sense of nationalism and self-reliance to one of security and hope for the future. Such emotional stirings both sustain the driving spirit of the movement and have in some circumstances caused added financial burdens to the most marginalized portions of society. Above all, *Harambee* has given rise to a concerted and deliberate attempt on the part of the rural masses to encourage the government to invest in rural development in terms of education, health, and economic self-sufficiency. Similarly, the movement has built itself on indigenous values and cultural traits that confront the values of the modern industrial sector of this society in order to form their own rural political power base. Yet, *Harambee* remains full of contradictions, the movement reinforces group solidarity through the use of traditional symbols and totems while at the same time, in the struggle over scarce resources it has encouraged competition between groups that accentuates cleavages that are "linguistic, regional, and ethnic" (Winans/Haugerud,336). In addition, cleavages that reflect class inequality appear to be exacerbated by this development initiative.

The social group to which one belongs is of vital importance in everyday social life in rural Kenya. The importance of social arrangements is extended to any community-inspired development initiative. Sanctions can be applied to what is considered inadequate support or tardy behaviour, and specific roles are designated among community members that people are expected to live up. The *Harambee* movement, in this respect, helps to reinforce traditional forms of social organization that stress local priorities even if they are at odds with those of the national government. Correspondingly, a perceived disadvantaged position by a particular rural community in relation to other groups in society tends to create resentment to central authorities and rivalry among clans and between regions (Mbithi/Rasmusson,28-30). These factors can motivate people to act to improve their situation in relation to others. In this context, the social group to which one identifies comes to play an important part in the motivation process, as is demonstrated in the *Harambee* movement.

Rural people find it easy to identify with *Harambee*. With upwards of 80% of Kenya's population based in rural areas and about only 20% of the total population in wage employment, this means that the majority of the population is involved in self-employed, non-wage activities. Furthermore, the consistent increase in the power and influence of the centre in relation to the periphery has instilled feelings of isolation among the rural population. Factors such as these have no doubt contributed to and reinforced the popularity of the self-help philosophy of *Harambee* (Mbithi/Rasmusson,24). There are various aspects of *Harambee* that are grounded in a philosophy and ideology with which those participating in the movement can view it as standing out over other development schemes. These aspects of *Harambee* are based on concepts whereby projects are undertaken that are related to the specific population of a specific area, where emphasis is placed on the importance of having projects initiated, managed, and financed locally, and where the projects are for the utilization of all in the community (Mbithi/Rasmusson,148). The examination of *Harambee* provided in this chapter would lead one to conclude that these concepts are the ideal rather than the reality.

However, widespread grassroots support remains strong with respect to this movement's self-help goals. Participants perceive that benefits will accrue to them personally and to their community as a whole so they make some great personal sacrifices to realize their hopes and dreams. There are many factors that can impede the successful outcome of a self-help project as has been revealed in this section. Lack of leadership and proper organization and management, together with insufficient funding and low socio-economic status of the participants can lead to disappointing failures and waste of precious resources (Mbithi/Rasmusson,143). Successful projects will more likely be realized when the local needs are specified and identified according to a consultative basis with the input of the whole community, where a good leadership is established that is perceived as "legitimate" by the community and can accomplish the task within constraints of time and resources available, and finally, where the government's role is limited so that it is not imposing and thereby possibly distort the articulation of local needs (Mbithi/Rasmusson,137).

The *Harambee* self-help movement has been unquestionably valuable in providing some much needed rural educational facilities and other infrastructural amenities that have improved living standards for many. Undoubtedly, the social context within which

Harambee has developed has shaped, formed, and directed the movement itself is also obvious. In the process, some fundamental deficiencies have been created in this development initiative. An indication of this is provided by one parent's comments with respect to the high cost of a *Harambee* education for his children:

> I have had to give up two ploughs. In all I have sold more than thirty head of cattle. I have to sell most of my farm produce instead of having it consumed at home to be able to raise school fees. I have to deny my children the milk produced by the few cows I have to sell it for school fees even though I am aware that milk is good for them especially the younger ones. ...I know several people who after spending all their property on fees are now unable to send their children to school. Those they spent on are jobless and can therefore not help them (Mwiria, 366).

The significance of the impact on self-help development of both the class relations within Kenyan society and the nature of the political structures which are present at different levels of this society become apparent throughout this examination. The participation of ordinary citizens from rural communities in the development process has been coopted to a large extent by these social and political structures, often resulting in only an illusion of progress and a misdirection of the valuable resources of these people. This scenario has prompted some analysts of this movement to comment that *Harambee* has become a "peculiar half-way brand of self-help" (Holmquist,130). The most marginalized people of Kenya have their access to central authoritative structures impeded by local political elites (both chiefs and bureaucrats) who quite often have retained their status due to their positions being a product of the country's past colonial legacy. Therefore, the present structures do not allow any meaningful involvement in the decision-making process for ordinary people, and instead, they have their voice channeled through the local elites who have become a form of petty-bourgeiosie. Without a well thoughtout strategy of rural development at the time of independence, the Kenyan government relied heavily on the rural petty-bourgeoisie's contact and influence with the ordinary rural people for encouraging self-help efforts and mobilizing resources (Holmquist,133,135). The vested interest of this rural petty-bourgeoisie then become reflected in the self-help projects that are undertaken, thus further enhancing their prestige and influence.

This type of development has not affected the fundamental structural changes in Kenyan society that one would expect from such grassroot's initiatives. To the contrary, this self-help process has helped to maintain the status-quo for the most part, and has served to perpetuate the duality already existing within Kenyan society and may even create new cleavages. *Harambee* has tended to cause regional disparities to be exacerbated, where the number and quality of projects initiated in a region will depend on resource availability and the ability to cultivate political ties with central authorities. In this respect, *Harambee* has become an effective tool of those within the power structure to look after the interests of their constituents, thereby giving cause for the wealthy and powerful to justify their status (Thomas-Slayter,311). Correspondingly, the heavy dependence on community or tribal connections in this development process has often exaggerated ethnic division between different groups. The resulting competition between communities or tribes prevents rational planning and efficient use of precious resources. When the government attempts to draw these self-help efforts into a National Development Plan the end product is more of a form of "controlled popular mobilization" that may hinder the spontaneity and creativity associated with local participative development initiatives (Keller,71). Furthermore, if the grassroots perceive there is an inability to meet the required standards and regulations in terms of financial and material resource commitment, incentives for local development could be drastically reduced or projects already in progress could be abandoned altogether. Increasingly, government bureaucracy is gaining control over *Harambee* in terms of planning and funding. This can be attributed at least in part to the Kenyan government's response to World Bank and IMF demands for austerity measures which seek to cut recurrent expenditures on social services (Thomas-Slayter, 311).

This does not mean that the efforts of these local development initiatives have been to no avail. Direct and indirect benefits have been realized by many living in communities in rural Kenya. Psychologically, these local efforts can be valuable in bringing a community together to realize their collective potential and gain some self-esteem in the process by taking matters into their own hands. Likewise, the establishment of *Harambee* schools has provided at least some opportunity for many children who may not have had any hope of attending school no matter how poor the quality. Alternatively, this development process has provided a source of employment where job opportunities are scarce, plus it also has had the potential for releasing valuable resources from private sources that would not have otherwise gone to the benefit of the community as a whole. In this respect, *Harambee* has made the greatest effort toward redistribution of goods, services, and opportunities within the country (Thomas-Slayter,318).With regard to education, the unyielding faith which parents have placed on education to fulfill their aspirations of social mobility and economic security has been the driving force for unrestrained expansion of the *Harambee* schools. Schools can become the centre of community activity, and as a result, they can serve as locales to stimulate the organization of local projects that will improve the overall well-being of members of the community (Mbithi/Rasmusson,161).

Considering these different aspects, there is no doubt that definite and long lasting benefits that enhance the quality of life for the rural poor can be gained by communities pursuing this type of development effort. However, consideration must always be given to the social, political, economic, and cultural context within which this development effort takes place. Understanding how these forces can bring both strengths and weaknesses to a self-help development effort will go a long way in determining how effective a particular self-help initiative will be. The extent to which the nature and direction of a self-help movement is influenced by the internal dynamics of the country itself is a significant factor requiring careful consideration. To emphasize this, the attention of this analysis will be directed to another self-help movement in another developing country. The examination of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement will be presented in the same formate as was done with *Harambee* to facilitate a comparison of the two movements. Before continuing with this second case study, however, a comparison of the *Harambee* movement will made with respect to the alternative development model I have formualted to determine *Harambee's* representativeness of an alternative development strategy.

d) *HARAMBEE* COMPARED TO THE ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

The aspects of the *Harambee* self-help movement that have been presented here can now be examined with respect to the alternative development model outlined at the end of Chapter 2. The comparison will be done with the purpose of determining the extent to which this self-help movement actually reflects an alternative development initiative. The alternative development model, as stated previously, has been defined in terms of its incorporation of an anarchistic philosophy to social organization and contemporary theoretical perspectives on development. By making this comparison, some assessment will be made as to why, or why not, *Harambee* conforms to the model.

This comparison will be undertaken according to the specific elements outlined in the alternative development model on a point by point basis. With respect to the elements of an anarchistic philosophy to social organization, these are:

1) Autonomy from the State - the intervention of the Kenyan government into the activities of this self-help movement has greatly restricted the autonomy of this

devlopment initiative. The government has imposed regulations on *Harambee* that cause the movement to conform more to the government's own development strategy.

2) Autonomy from the market - there is no evidence to show that thisself-help initiative has made an effort to distance itself from capitalist market forces. In actuality, market forces may indeed instigate the initiation of a development project if it is perceived to enhance the advantage of the community with respect to, for example, accessing the modern sector job market.

3) A non-hierarchical social structure - this has not resulted from thisself-help movement. In fact, the evidence points to a situation where distinctions based on class and ethnic background are exacerbated by the activities of *Harambee*. Also, economic disparities have not been mitigated by the self-help development in Kenya. *Status quo* survives.

4) An absence of the profit motive - the profit motive has not disappeared. In terms of production for needs, there has been some direct benefits with the provision of valuable facilities through the efforts of this movement. There is also evidence that the most marginalized segments of the population have received less benefit from self-help activities than more prosperous segments of the population.

5) A participatory form of decision-making - the collective initiative embodied in this movement incorporates the philosophy of full participation of everyone in the community. The fact that local needs are given priority and the initiative is locally planned instills a sense of self-reliance that contributes to the collective self-esteem. Cultural traditions play an important part in activating this collectivism. However, the composition of the *Harambee* committees in the communities is dominated by local elites that results in initiating projects that cater to the vested interests of this group. Furthermore, for some people participation may be coercive because of the financial burden or perception of no personal benefit.

6) No dependency on outside resources - while a great deal of the resources for the self-help projects are garnered from the community itself there is also a great dependency on outside resources. The lack of capital has required that the government funding be sought and the patron-client relationship has been utilized to these ends. Funding is also solicited from those community members no longer living in the community but employed in the modern sector.

7) Collective ownership of property - there is no evidence of this with the exception of community facilities built through the self-help movement itself. These would be facilities such as cattle dips, medical centres, community centres, and schools. However, fees charged to maintain these facilities may be too prohibative for some, preventing some people from the use of the same.

The elements of contemporary development perspective to be compared to

the *Harambee* self-help initiative are:

1) Avoiding technically complex and capital intensive development initiatives - there are indications that *Harambee* projects are increasing in complexity and in terms of capital requirements. This will accentuate the dependency on outside resources to complete and sustain projects.

2) Instilling a new consciousness among the people - this has not been acheived to any great degree. There has been no concerted effort to instill a new consciousness, and to the contrary, the competitive ethos still reigns between tribes which perceive an advantage is being gained by one over the other. The only way a new consciousness enters the community is through a sense of self-esteem and self-reliance with the provision of much needed facilities.

3) Satisfaction of needs other than material ones - The mobilization of the members of a community to complete a needed project has the effect of engendering a sense of security, esteem, and solidarity.

4) A process of dialogue - this is attempted through the establishment of local committees, but as implied before, these tend to be dominated by the local elites which may not reflect the voice of everyone in the community. Similarly, government committees at the district level serve as a platform for dialogue, but it is the government's interests in implementing a national development plan that will take precedent.

5) Emphasizing small-scale development - this has been the original focus of the *Harambee* movement that has contributed a significant amount to the development needs of many communities. This approach to development has extensively utilized traditional knowledge bases and collective strategies that has given *Harambee* legitimacy and validity at the community level. Although, projects have also been undertaken that are beyond the communities means to maintain them which mitigates, to a large degree, any advantage the project may have had.

The extent to which the *Harambee* development initiative conforms to the alternative development model is limited, as evidenced by the comparison undertaken above. The only manner in which this development initiative conforms to the anarchistic model to any degree is with respect to a participatory form of decision-making. *Harambee* appears to incorporate more elements of contemporary perspectives to development but these are not strong for the most part. Instilling a sense of security, esteem, and solidarity, and the focus on small-scale initiatives that incorporate collective strategies are the elements that compare strongest to the model.

While there may be evidence of elements from the alternative development model within the *Harambee* development initiative, these elements have been greatly mitigated by constraining factors within the Kenyan social context. The Kenyan power structure has coopted this self-help initiative to a large extent and has employed it as a tool that serves to perpetuate this structure. The interests of the indigenous bourgeoisie have figured prominantly in the development initiatives undertaken. This may not serve the interests of the majority, and in fact, can cause some undue hardships on those who have the least. Factors of ethnicity and class still predominate Kenyan society which undermines any chance for this self-help initiative to conform to a model of alternative devlopment.

CHAPTER 4

THE *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* MOVEMENT IN SRI LANKA

There are numerous parallels and contrasts which can be drawn between the social , economic, and political context within which Kenya was described and that found in Sri Lanka. Each country's history involves a colonial past and subsequent search for a national identity together with internal social dynamics involving the dominant indigenous political and economic elites. However, specific divergent social dynamics emerge between these two countries that define the unique character of each society, and as a result, the character of the self-help movement that developed there. The self-help movements in each country are both grounded in rich cultural traditions, but different social and cultural aspects have dominated these movements bringing out a well defined distinctiveness between the two.

This chapter will examine the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka in a manner similar to that which the *Harambee* movement was examined in Chapter 3. Initially, the historical context within which Sri Lanka finds itself in terms of its colonial legacy, pertinent geographic and demographic factors, plus economic, social, and political factors. The social and political aspects concerning ethnic and class divisions, and religious and cultural traditions in this society will be focused upon specifically here as they have been a significant influence on the country's historical development in general and for the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in particular. These various social factors will be analyzed in the same three historical time periods applied to the examination of the Kenyan context: the pre-colonial period, the colonial period, and the period following independence.

Following the discussion of Sri Lanka's historical context a section will be devoted to an exploration of the development of education in Sri Lanka within the same three historical periods outlined above. The role which education played in the growth of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* self-help movement will be of particular interest in this discussion. The impact and influence of education on societies experiencing fundamental transition from a society which is basically traditional in nature to one affected by modern industrial processes is profound and is deserving of specific attention.

The chapter will conclude with an in depth examination of the emergence and expansion of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement over a period of three decades, roughly from the

1960s through to the present. The origin and growth of this self-help movement will be explored in terms of its roots in a Gandhian philosophy for social change and in terms of the social context within which the movement is found. Specific emphasis will be accorded to the religious cultural traditions which have served as both the inspiration for the emergence of the movement in Sri Lanka and as a guide for its development initiative. The movement will also be examined with respect to the manner in which the movement is organized, and how it mobilizes resources and motivates community members to participate in the development process.

a) THE SRI LANKAN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Sri Lanka means "resplendent isle" in the Sinhalese language and to a great extent the country has lived up to this image. Besides its natural beauty, Sri Lanka has been one of the brighter examples of the countries that emerged in the post-colonial period after World War II in terms of a peaceful transition to independence and by certain economic and social indicators. The country's record of high literacy rates, improved life expectancy, and lower infant mortality rates has been impressive in comparison to other countries that achieved independence in this same period. These accomplishments, however, cannot disguise endemic social problems which centre around poverty, precipitous population growth, plus unemployment and health issues. The social stresses caused by these elements are compounded in Sri Lanka by tensions which have formed along ethnic and religious lines of division. Sri Lanka's relatively non-confrontational transition from colony to independent nation, which was unique to countries experiencing this type of change, is contrasted to recent political events that have accentuated the ethnic and religious tensions within the country. Therefore, to gain some comprehension of how Sri Lanka's past has moulded its transformation into a modern state one must delve into the intricacies of its cultural and historical heritage. For consistency sake the name "Sri Lanka" will be used throughout this discourse rather than making reference to the country's former name of Ceylon prior to 1972.

Sri Lanka has had a long history of colonial rule spanning over 450 years and bringing a wide range of Western influences that would shape the social, political, and economic structures of the country. Sri Lanka's pre-colonial history, on the other hand, is defined largely according to social distinctions based on religious persuasion and ethnic origin. With its location only 70 kilometers from the south-east coast of India, Sri Lankans trace their ethnic origins to Indian ancestors from different geographic regions. The largest ethnic group is the Sinhalese, who regard themselves as being descendents of the Aryan prince *Vijaya* from northern India, who is believed to have brought approximately 700 followers with him to the island sometime around 485 B.C. The second largest ethnic group in the country is the Tamils, having arrived sporadically from the earliest historical periods of Sri Lanka from southern India. The Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups alone make up 92% of the country's population according to the 1981 census. Other ethnic groups include the Ceylon Moors (about 7%), and the Burghers who are those people who either directly or through marriage are descended from the Portuguese and the Dutch (Jayasuriya,1-3). These ethnic divisions are underlined further by the differing religious affiliations of the respective groups. The Sinhalese are predominantly Buddhist, while the Tamils and Burghers are predominantly Hindu and Christian respectively.

Before delving into Sri Lanka's colonial past particular attention needs to be devoted to the significance of Buddhism in the social fabric of the country. This aspect needs to be examined in terms of the type of Buddhism found in Sri Lanka, its traditions and its evolution over the centuries to today's contemporary society. Buddhism in Sri Lanka must also be examined in terms of its relationship with the other religious influences which came to shape the country's historical development in addition to Buddhism's role in the country's nationalist movement.

Buddhism arrived in Sri Lanka from India around 250 B.C. at the time of King Asoka, who came to be known for his patronage of this religion. Asoka used the powers of the State in his preoccupation with maintaining the purity of the traditional Buddhist doctrine, especially with respect to aspects such as moral conduct within the monastic orders. From these origins, the specific form of Buddhist ideology known as Theravada Buddhism came to be established in Sri Lanka as Asoka made a concerted effort to form a Buddhist state (*Sasana*). His efforts in this regard caused the religion to become more politicized as power came to be concentrated in those monasteries supported personally by the King (Phandis,32). The involvement of the State in Theravada Buddhism from the earliest stages of development is an obvious departure from what was set out in the canonical laws of traditional Buddhism establishing the non-political nature of this religion as Max Weber described in terms of a "specifically non-political and anti-political religion of a social class" (Bechert,774). In this respect, religion has become a major factor in influencing the general political and social development in Sri Lanka over the centuries, and particularly during the more recent historical period - Sinhalese nationalism.

Specific characteristics of Theravada Buddhism give it distinctive qualities over other forms of Buddhism. Firstly, Theravada Buddhism makes a sharp distinction between the "worldly" and the "supramundane" which concerns the process of being relieved from worldly existence through release from the cycle of death and rebirth and ultimately reaching *Nirvana* (Gombrich/Obeyeskere,16). The path to *Nirvana* was discovered by Buddha, but even so, Theravada Buddhists do not consider him in terms of a saviour or a god as it is up to the individual to find the correct path "in a style of his own choice" (Phandnis,13). Secondly, Theravada Buddhism is structured on a hierarchical basis with specialized monks at the top of the structure followed by "less specialized village monks" and the vast Buddhist laity forming the base of the structure (Ames:1963,46). Lastly, but somewhat related to the previous point is the manner in which Theravada Buddhism is characterized by distinctions in religious status between the monks and the general masses of believers. Aspects of religious status determined whether one would be allowed to enter the order or not. The monk was considered to reflect the total of society's values, and thus, men of low caste and all women were not permitted entry into the order of monks (Gombrich/Obeyeskere, 23).

The rural village was of vital importance to traditional Buddhist society where the majority of the population was engaged in agricultural activities and close kinship ties held communities together in nuclear families. Village power centred around the village "headman" and this tradition was to remain until 1958 when the central government began replacing the "headman's" authority with appointed administrators (Gombrich/ Obeyesekere,67-68). Bhikkhus (Buddhist priests) were at the centre of the Sinhalese social structure teaching people writing and artistic activities. They influenced Sinhalese architecture and established centres that were used for cultural activities as well as for worship. The Bhikkhus also enforced religious doctrine and had the power to discipline transgressors. The tradition of a "divinely sanctioned" royalty was supported by the Bhikkhus and both the Bhikkhus and the nobility gained advantages in a mutually beneficial relationship whereby the royalty was legitimized by the support of the Bhikkhus, and they in turn benefitted by being apportioned parcels of land by the king for monasteries and temples. Ordinary citizens were then obliged by religious duty to maintain the upkeep of these lands in an arrangement akin to feudalism and brought further affluence to some of the sects. This relationship had the effect of maintaining the socio-political structure of the society until the arrival of the Europeans. The colonial period was to erode this relationship as the legitimacy of both the nobility and the clerical hierarchy was challenged (Phandnis,40-43).

The colonial influence on Sri Lankan society was significant with respect to the impact on the country's social institutions and the political and economic process that was to evolve throughout the course of its historical development. The colonial epoch in Sri Lanka was of a considerable duration approaching 450 years and involved several participants in succession. External influences were affected even prior to the commencement of formal colonial rule when Arabs seeking prospects for trade brought Muslim influences during the eighth century A.D. Not until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 was colonial rule established in the formal sense. The significance of the Portuguese era was twofold: a) it introduced Roman Catholicism; b) and it eliminated the economic influence of the Arab traders (Ames:1973,144-145). The Portuguese held much of the island, although confining themselves mainly to the coastal areas, until 1656 when they lost control of the territory to the Dutch. The impact of Dutch colonial rule was in terms of making much of the population literate with compulsory schooling, inculcating the idea of rule of law among the people, and introducing agricultural production for commercial purposes (Ames:1973,145).

The traditional administrative and bureaucratic system was maintained during this period. Duty to the king was incorporated by the Europeans in the form of service to the newly established local militias. Furthermore, the feudal economic system found on the island was maintained by the colonial rulers in order to extort taxes and other obligations from the people. This socio-political structure enhanced the business of trade for the Europeans through increased exports of commodities. Covert pressure was put on the people of the island to conform or assimilate to the colonizer's customs and cultural traditions. The Portuguese, for example, made promises of tenure of land to those Sinhalese who would convert to Catholicism. Punishment could be exacted upon those who refused to convert and one's civil rights could be withheld with the prospect of being banned from holding public office, or in extreme cases, the death penalty was dealt out. Instances were documented of the destruction of monasteries and temples, or the confiscation of Buddhist land including any structures thereon being converted to Christian use. The effort to have the population assimilated to a Christian culture and way of life was exerted through the use of their most influential tool: the Christian missionary school. The initiation of this process of education spelled the beginning of the end of the Buddhist monopoly on education for the Sinhalese (Phandnis,43-44). The Dutch, on the other hand, while continuing to instigate religious oppression against Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims, included Catholics to their list but made some political and religious compromises to each group with respect to trade. The Dutch wanted to remove Portuguese influencefrom the country, specifically in terms of their language and religion. The Portuguese language and Catholicism was deeply entrenched in this society as a result of their colonial rule (Phandnis,45).

The defeat of the Dutch at the hands of the British in 1796 meant that they had to cede control of their territory (the coastal region) of the island to the new colonial rulers. The British almost immediately began a concerted effort to remove the practice of religious oppression in Sri Lanka left by the Dutch. Measures which discriminated against any of the non-Protestant religions in the country were overturned by legislation brought forward in 1806 which sought to protect people from such religious oppression and ensure they were allowed "the free exercise of religious worship" (Jayasuriya,77-78). Sri Lanka was made a Crown Colony in 1802 with its administration being served out of the Colonial Office in London. The British consolidated their control beyond the coastal parameters to include the entire island when they captured the Kingdom of Kandy in 1815. With their control over the whole of the island accomplished, the British could now ply their omnipotent presence by influencing almost every aspect of life in that society. The British Governor had extensive powers that made him "the chief military, executive and legislative authority" as well as "the chief judicial head in all civil matters". In addition, the Governor had control over resources such as people's labour, whereby he could dictate by force the work assignments and the wages. He also had control over natural resources such as the land for coffee plantations (Jayasuriya,33).

Such sweeping powers would ensure the supremacy of British rule both politically as well as culturally, the latter in terms of religion and education. These latter two elements were of critical importance to maintaining British dominance and were given special attention by the Governor when exercising his authority. The structure of the emergent colonial state came to be that political power was concentrated at the very top in the position of the Governor. The authority of his position and the efforts of the State to abolish social distinctions based on caste, gave cause for the gradual erosion of the influence of the traditional chieftains and headmen. These cultural traditions were being replaced by new civil and State institutions that provided the promise of social mobility where social status would be achieved through having a solid educational foundation. Thus, indoctrinating the population to Christianity became of instrumental importance for the colonial regime together with the teaching of English for the civil service (Jayasuriya,32,35).

The loss of official state backing further lessened the influence of the Buddhist clerical establishment by the 1800s. The whithering of the influence of the Buddhist leadership in the affairs of the laity and even in the resolution of the formers own internal disputes was largely a result of the growing dominance of European institutions. The feudal arrangement of having tenants work monastery lands was dismantled for the most part with some monasteries losing their estates altogether which further eroded the influence of the Buddhist clergy. But perhaps the greatest blow to the institutional power of the Buddhist clergy was the loss of their monopoly in the sphere of education with the rise in social status of those educated outside of the monastic system. This had been the core strength of Buddhism's development over 2300 years and the impact of such a process meant there would be fundamental changes to the Buddhist cultural traditions (Ames:1963,46-47).

The State now gave official support to Christian institutions with the underlying intent of encouraging the expansion of Christianity throughout the country. The British Governor continued the precedent set by the Dutch in carrying out an unofficial policy whereby only Christians were eligible for government appointments. Other repressive policies were initiated by the British which undermined the status of Buddhism by purposely favouring those who were Christian or those who would convert to Christianity. Examples of repressive government policies were witnessed in circumstances where inheritance would be disallowed unless the parents had a Christian marriage. Furthermore, government funds were used to promote Christianity by paying to build or repair churches in addition to paying the expenses of visiting clergy from overseas (Jayasuriya,81-83). Thus, the full weight of the State's legislative and financial resources was devoted to the spreading of Christian values and traditions in this colonial society. The Sri Lankan population recognized the opportunity for social mobility by embracing Christianity, and aspirations for their children's future led many to adopt, not only the religion, but the language and education system as well.

It did not take long before the British colonizers began to incorporate their particular brand of political and bureaucratic apparatus on the island to solidify their control under a single administration which had not been experienced there since the thirteenth century. An Executive Council and a Legislative Council were formed in 1832, signalling the initiation of the transplantation in earnest of Western political institutions based on the British model. The custom of community representation by race was established at this time with the Governor appointing three of the sixteen Legislative Council members from each of the Sinhalese, Burgher, and Tamil communities. The Governor's power and influence remained preeminent however, as only he could initiate legislation and members of the councils were required to vote with the Governor on particular motions or remain neutral. Not until 1860 were individual members allowed to put forward private motions under certain constraints (Jayasuriya,105-106). Over the years, the ideology for governing the country indicated distinct favouritism for the commercial interests which promoted free enterprise and discouraged government monopolies where trade was concerned. The distinctly capitalist economic climate provided by the colonial government encouraged commercial ventures and allowed for the emergence and growth of a capitalist class. At first, this new class was composed almost entirely of Europeans but eventually came to include native entrepreneurs as well, Increasingly, economic activity concentrated more on generating export revenues from cash crops while food crops were grown only by the peasantry who still had land (Jayasuriya,107-108). Under this economic and social structure, land became a valuable commodity increasing in worth with the economic success of the coffee plantations. The value of the land on which Buddhist temples and monasteries stood increased correspondingly bringing considerable net worth to certain monastic orders. Recognizing the inherent value of the land occupied by these monastic orders, the colonial government demanded that all land claimed by the temples had to be registered by a given date or risk confiscation of the land (Phandnis,62).

Small pockets of resistance began to form against the British as early as the period of economic depression in 1847. This resistance centred mainly around opposition to a series of regressive taxes imposed by the British to fill government coffers, and fear of the continued demise of Buddhism (Jayasuriya,108). As more Sri Lankans received a Western education and consequently were inculcated with Western values, calls for constitutional reform began to be articulated to a greater degree in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, there were those Sri Lankans who tended to embrace wholeheartedly the British customs and values to which they had been exposed rather than demand anything as radical as the outright removal of the British. This group sought instead to have greater representation of Sri Lankans in the top government positions as well as the civil service as a whole, and looked toward total independence as a long term strategy (Jayasuriya,221). The advent of this new social grouping of Sinhalese "non-monastic educated intelligentsia" also gave inspiration to the need for religious reform (as opposed to religious restoration) as the centuries of Western colonial influence on this coastal-urban group conflicted with the traditional Kandyan aristocracy as they sought "to reconcile traditional beliefs to modern circumstances" (Ames:1963,48). By the close of the nineteenth century this emerging middle class had made significant inroads into professions such as law and medicine, besides the more standard economic activities of agriculture and commerce (Jayasuriya,223). The culmination of these events formed the basis of what came to be known as the Protestant Buddhist movement from 1860 to 1885. This movement evolved out the influence of the Protestant missionaries, and thus, was influenced by its close affinity to Western culture and the modern technological and educational processes which it embodies. This movement was basically an urban middle-class phenomenon, and it was the better educated urbanites who eventually formed the indigenous bourgeiosie that initially embraced Protestant Buddhism. The influence of the emerging Buddhist entrepreneurial class in the towns and cities who adopted the Protestant Buddhist ideology was that they acted as role models for the peasant class to emulate. Furthermore, the ideology embodied in this movement came to be disseminated by village school teachers who professed new values to peasant children (Gombrich/Obeyesekere,203,211).

Under the leadership of Devamitta Dharmapala (1864-1933, the name meaning *Defender of the Doctrine*), the Protestant Buddhism movement drew on anti-colonial sentiments and attempted to enhance the image in which Buddhists saw themselves when "the moral failings of the missionaries" was made obvious (Gombrich/Obeyesekere,212-213). Dharmapala presented Buddhist values as superior to Christian ones, and he also emphasized ethnic aspersions with respect to Indian merchants, Muslims, and Tamils present in the country. He preached that exploitation of the Sinhalese by other ethnic groups could only be mitigated if the Sinhalas:

> ...adopted an ethic of thrift and hard work; if they emulated Western capitalism by engaging in business; if they educated themselves and learned languages, including Hindi and English; and above all if they adopted a proper code of civilized conduct; such as the one he invented and propagated (Gombrich/Obeyesekere,213).

In 1898, Dharmapala published *The Daily Code for the Laity,* which outlined 200 rules under twenty-two headings for advising the layman how to conduct himself in everyday life. Dharmapala's code is viewed as somewhat elitist as it chastises the manners of the peasantry and presents a new set of values to emulate for a new class of indigenous bourgeoisie. Protestant Buddhism therefore, differentiates itself by its emphasis on "this-worldly asceticism" in contrast to traditional Buddhism which is centred around "peasant society and economy and a peasant moral code" (Gombrich/Obeyesekere,214-215). Protestant Buddhism is basically fundamentalist in nature and views Buddhism not so much as a religion but more in terms of a philosophy. In this respect, where Christianity is theistic Buddhism is atheistic, and where Christianity rests on faith Buddhism is based on reason stressing a humane ethical code. Protestant Buddhism depended greatly on English-language concepts in presenting Buddhism through modern educational methods and print mediums that distinctly reflected the influences of Christian terminology. The gradual acceptance of the tenets of Protestant Buddhism led to the situation where duties previously assigned to the Buddhist clergy were now adopted as common practice by the Buddhist laity. Other activities which characterize those who conform to Protestant Buddhism is the expressed desire to devote themselves to "good causes" and also to be organized "into committees and associations on the Western model" (ie. the Young Men's Buddhist Association) (Gombrich/Obeseyekere,232,234).

Protestant Buddhism has reinterpreted traditional Buddhist doctrine to the extent that the sequestered monk in meditation is replaced by one who takes an active part in the affairs of his community, and to some degree, may be expected by some in his community to devote his life to activities that will directly benefit the same. Protestant Buddhism emerged as a middle-class, urban phenomenon and as such its followers aspire more to modern goals of social mobility and economic advancement that are less pronounced among rural inhabitants. Consequently, the Protestant Buddhists are more interested in *the here and the now* and so are less concerned with the next life in the Buddhist sense of rebirth, perceiving one's performance in this life as being more important. The Christian influences, and especially the Protestant ones, become obvious in this context, yet, those in this movement still exalted the superiority of the Buddhist traditions to the point of establishing that Buddha was even a better Protestant than the Protestants themselves with the proof coming from ancient Buddhist scripture (Ames:1963,49,53).

The transformation and reinterpretation being undertaken in Buddhist thought brought about by the Western educated intelligentsia continued to inspire demands for political and social change that had originated in the mid-1800s. Subsequently, these demands took the form of wide ranging constitutional reforms were being outlined that would allow more governance by the Sri Lankans themselves. Demands stipulated that the Governor's practice of personally nominating government appointees should be abolished in favour of free elections. Although the colonial government was hesitant to grant a universal franchise, in 1910 it proposed changes to the Legislative Council that would increase its membership to eleven with four members being elected under compliance to property and literacy requirements; the first elected representation in any British colony. These reforms were limited and fell short of what was originally demanded, and reform advocates had to wait until the formation of the Ceylon National Congress in 1919 before witnessing any further movement toward complete self-government (Jayasuriya,325-326). The groups advocating constitutional change from the 1920s onward were made up of three distinct groups of educated elites. The first two groups consisted of those either educated in English and with professional and entrepreneurial backgrounds, or those educated in Sinhalese or Tamil. The third group of educated elites did not emerge until the 1930s and 1940s. This group of intellectuals also received an education in English but had definite leftist leanings promoting labour rights specifically (Jayasuriya,426).

Constitutional reforms in 1920 and 1924 increased the number of elected members to the Legislative Council, although these reforms were carefully designed as not to hamper the powers of the Governor (Jayasuriya,427). The Constitution of 1931 brought forward some profound changes with the extension of the franchise to all men and women over the age of twenty-one and the removal of restrictions based on property and literacy requirements. Under this new constitution, both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council were replaced by a more representative State Council. Despite these dramatic changes, eight of the fifty-nine voting members of the State Council were still nominated by the Governor himself. However, there was some far reaching social legislation which emanated from the new State Council which was to guide the political and social conscience of this country to independence and beyond. The evolution of the welfare state was seen in measures ensuring free medical services and free education, plus government subsidized public transportation and food staples that directly benefitted the more marginalized sector of the population and reduced the potential for social unrest in this period of rapid social transformation leading to independence (Jayasuriya,429-430). A general election in the same year established Sri Lanka (Ceylon) as one of the earliest colonies to experience parliamentary democracy. This experience included attempts to draft government policy and resolve issues in an atmosphere of "shifting coalitions of rival personalities and factions" (Myrdal,157).

In 1945, a new constitutional package was formulated on the British model which caused political allegiance and responsibility to form along party lines. The United National Party (UNP), the Labour Party, plus the Bolshevik-Leninist Party and the Communist Party together with the Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Indian Congress among others, were established at this time (Phandnis,115). The Constitution of 1948 was to grant full responsible government to the colony by way of the Ceylon Independence Act passed in British Parliament. This process would ensure that the "sovereignty or supremacy of

Parliament" would be guaranteed following on the principles of the Statute of Westminster (Jayasuriya,432). The moderate climate of social and political change in Sri Lanka that was free of the violence and turmoil experienced by most other colonies seeking independence can be attributed to a combination of the middle-class economic interests, a relatively high standard of living, and to the success of the democratic and socially-conscious Sate Council of the 1930's and 1940's (Phandnis,71).

There are certain geo-political considerations worth noting that have served to shape the direction of post-colonial Sri Lanka. Being a small island nation gave Sri Lanka the advantage of not having to be concerned with national boundaries shared with potentially hostile neighbours. This ensures a greater sense of national security that reduces military expenditure and allows more attention to be devoted to developmental needs. Furthermore, since long before independence, Sri Lanka has experienced lower levels of malnutrition and higher levels of literacy than surrounding South-Asian countries. In comparison, inequalities are not as pronounced as in India which means women are not as discriminated against and the caste system is less rigid and restrictive enabling the reduction of class divisions. This does not mean that social divisions do not exist in Sri Lanka, as such divisions can be readily identified in terms of ethnicity that underlines differences in language, religion, culture, and even geographic location. The predominant social division is between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority with their respective languages, religions, and cultures, and their geographic division with the Sinhalese located mainly in the centre and south-west portion of the island and the Tamils concentrated in the north and eastern regions. Independence has served to accentuate and bring these divisions into the forefront of national politics more than before. Radical nationalism began to take prominence after independence and has threatened the country's previously stable socio-political climate (Myrdal,343-346).

The UNP was to remain dominant for the country's first two general elections after independence before a break-away party called the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) formed the government in the election of 1956. This period established these two parties as main political parties in the country, although Tamil political parties in the north and eastern provinces were able to gain some distinction in the national government when the dominant parties needed to form a coalition (Phandnis,115,117). The UNP, while comprised mainly of the upper stratum of this society's elite, had promised a program of "practical socialism" to the electorate undertaking popular policy initiatives that included a variety of social programs as described previously. The UNP regimes during the first decade after independence benefitted from capital surpluses left from British wartime expenditures there, and relatively high export prices for the country's commodities. This made for a fairly trouble-free time economically although the government lacked any specific economic plan other than advocating industrial development, and large-scale agricultural and irrigation schemes. When the economic climate began to deteriorate the UNP government's reaction to the situation put the greatest social strains on the poorest segments of the population causing social unrest to ensue and their eventual defeat in the 1956 general election at the hands of the SLFP (Myrdal,346-348).

Religion and ethnicity began to play an ever increasing role in the politics of the country after independence to the point of debating whether or not Sri Lanka should be officially declared a Buddhist State. In this political climate, the lack of faith in the UNP to safeguard and promote Buddhism as the religion of the country's majority was perceived as yet another major factor contributing to its defeat in 1956. The UNP did not hesitate to take heed of this factor and was quick to emphasize the need for "the preservation of Ceylon's cultural and spiritual values" in subsequent election campaigns, and by 1963, the UNP made "restoring Buddhism to its rightful place in the State" an integral part of party policy (Phandnis,128-130). This policy was similar to that espoused by the SLFP, however this party's policies went even further by proposing that Sinhala be made the official national language and that Sinhalese values and customs be incorporated more into everyday life (Myrdal,351). The first leader of the SLFP had presented himself as a person at the forefront of the Buddhist revivalist movement, and a major premise on which the SLFP was founded concerned the lack of "just and fair treatment" of the Sinhalese Buddhist majority in the face of Sri Lanka's colonial history. In this respect, the SLFP stood for a policy that would see special government assistance being given to enhance the revival of the Buddhist religion and culture (Phandnis 133-134).

What ensued in this political climate was that a variety of discriminatory policies would be specifically waged against the Tamil minority. The Sinhalese majority promoted a policy of removing the political rights of the Tamils that had been bestowed by the British. The discriminatory policies were far reaching and included the denial of Tamil's civil status, removal of their right to vote, ineligibility for Crown land, and inaccessibility to certain modern sector occupations. The Tamil minority was resented in particular for their over representation in the civil service due to their competence in English as a result of historically having enjoyed a greater exposure to the mission schools (Myrdal,349-350). The coalition government elected in 1956 was headed by the SLFP but was under the banner of the People's United Front which was made up of several interest groups that brought a socialist-Sinhalese- Buddhist perspective to the government of the country. The precedent set by the election of this government was that any political party hoping to gain power in the country's parliament after 1956 would have to portray itself in Sinhalese-Buddhist terms (Phandnis,136-137).

The discriminatory policies did not go without reaction from threatened Tamil community. An effort to implement the controversial "Sinhala-only" policy in 1958 provoked rioting that prompted a state of emergency being declared. The political turmoil that ensued resulted in the break-up of the People's United Front coalition and after two more general elections the SLFP was returned to government with a clear majority. The SLFP continued to pursue radical nationalist policies that had been previously formulated. Violent reactions by the Tamils resulted in a two year state of emergency. The Sinhalese extremists prevailed and the tyranny of the majority was achieved at the expense of the Tamils in social, political, and cultural terms. Negotiations ensued between India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) as to the possibility of having the Tamils repatriated to India. External pressures on India from the likes of China and Pakistan forced the Indian government to pursue friendly relations with its smaller neighbour leading to a repatriation agreement in 1964. The agreement included the repatriation of 525,000 Tamils to India and the granting of civil status to 300,000 Tamils in Sri Lanka, with the fate of 150,000 Tamils to be decided at a later date (Myrdal,353,355).

Buddhist monks, Bhikkhus, and particular pressure groups concerned with aspects of the Buddhist faith came to influence government policy and on occasion were successful in making the government back down on certain legislative proposals that these groups perceived as undermining Buddhist principles or the Buddhist presence in government. Ultimately, such influence could bring about the downfall of the government itself (Phandnis, 141-143). Historically, the involvement of the Buddhist clergy in modern political campaigns was witnessed as early as the 1931 election where Bhikkhus held political meetings in monasteries or publically indicated their support for a candidate. The 1947 election saw a segment of urban (Colombo) intellectual Bhikkhus come out in support for leftist political parties, thus initiating a nationalistic flair in the country's politics(Phandnis 160-162). A coalition of two monk organizations formed the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna (EBP) in 1956, prior to the general election. This organization strongly criticized the involvement in election campaigns of Catholic organizations and other remnants of colonial power within the country, and promoted measures such as making

Sinhala the country's official language (Phandnis 181-182). The involvement of the EBP in the general election of 1956 was extensive and ranged from making posters to having monks address election meetings or criticizing the past governing party for compromising the country's national religion and culture. The focus of the EBP campaign was one that evolved into concerted attacks against Western cultural influences, the Catholic Church, and the ruling UNP, eventually leading to that government's defeat. The *common Buddhist* in Sri Lanka identified more with what the monks were professing in the election campaigns than with what the old-guard politicians were offering. The monks were not seen as being involved for their own self-promotion but for the benefit of the community as a whole. This coalesced into a ground-swell of popular support for the EBP that could topple governments (Phandnis,185-186,188).

Economically, from the mid-1960s onward Sri Lanka experienced a deterioration of its previously stable economic base. This period has been characterized by labour unrest leading to numerous strikes, worsening terms of trade at the international level, and rising inflation rates. The financial constraints that resulted caused cut-backs in social expenditures, controls on imports, and stagnation in industrial development. Foreign investment was discouraged under a campaign of nationalization which even included subsidized private schools. However, this far-reaching policy initiative was undertaken with the noteworthy exception of the foreign owned plantations, as the feeling on the part of the government was that applying such an initiative to the plantations would just be too financially burdensome. The lack of a strong unified government in the formative years of the country's independence greatly hurt its chances of formulating any all-encompassing economic plan. Group interests were over-emphasized leaving national priorities unconsidered. This lack of coherent planning in the pre-1960s period threatened the stability of the government as well as its economic strength, and this deficiency was not redressed until 1965 when the UNP government made overtures to both the World Bank and the IMF to improve chances for international funding (Myrdal,356-358).

When the SLFP regained power in 1970 its government went to great lengths to not offend the Buddhist clergy. The dominant elites which emerged within the Sinhalese-Buddhist system gained a high degree of power in Sri Lankan society. This power and influence was sanctioned by the authority of the State, and likewise, State authority sought legitimation through the support of this religious elite making the arrangement mutually beneficial to both parties. The importance of the combination of religious symbols and religious elites together with religious doctrine in order to mobilize the people in Sri Lanka toward nationalist ideals and against the foreign rulers has not been lost on contemporary religious leaders who have continued to utilize these resources in the post-colonial period. As Bhikkhus became more involved in the political process the younger generation of Bhikkhus have become the most politicized as evidenced in the manner in which they either make subtle attempts to influence electoral outcomes or engage in politically volatile public demonstrations. Through such activity they have brought a certain style to the political process that incorporates a mixture of the traditional and the modern in order to have their views received and their influence felt (Phandnis,301,314). Accordingly, Sri Lanka has experienced the rise of Bhikkhu organizations that have the specific purpose of influencing the politics of the country in terms of policy direction of the government. These organizations have the opportunity to exploit a *patron-client* relationship to serve political ends (Phandnis,311-312). The effectiveness of the Bhikkhus in promoting the Buddhist faith and the Buddhist community through their political activities has been well demonstrated in their ability to deliver votes to those political parties for which they have campaigned. Undoubtedly, the Bhikkhus have become a formidable political force in the decades that followed independence, but at the cost of their "traditional non-partisan image" (Phandnis,202-203).

The Bhikkhus historically had a particular prestige in this society which they wanted to preserve. It was based on caste and class as well as economic interests in land holdings where their monastaries were located. These interests and social prestige prompted them to form monks' associations and become politically active, with the unintended consequence of divorcing themselves further from their ancient Buddhist traditions (Bechert,778). Bhikkhu communities vary in wealth depending on their landholdings and endowments received from benefactors that have some communities accumulating considerable wealth while others remain poor. Disparities that remain in terms of wealth, class, and influence have caused some Bhikkhu communities to "perpetuate the feudal system of the past". Therefore, the influence of these "monastic landlords" has meant that to a great extent, democracy in Sri Lanka has not fundamentally affected the *status quo* (Phandnis,105). The rise of the Bhikkhus as an important social-political force has had the consequence of sharpening certain social and political cleavages and conflicts in Sri Lanka.

The population of Sri Lanka has almost doubled in the thirty years from 1951 to 1981, and was estimated to be 14.8 million in 1981 (Dept. of Census and Statistics,9). Improved quality of life in terms of health and nutrition resulted in a dramatic drop in the death rate after 1945. Life expectancy rose from 41.6 years for females and 43.9 for males in 1946, to 71.7 years for females and 67.8 years for males by 1981 (Kearney/Miller,86 / Dept. of Census and Statistics,25). The resulting rapid population growth has been a significant factor contributing to the social changes affecting Sri Lankan society in this period. There was a vast expansion of the education system that had the affect of increasing literacy to 91% for males and 83% for females by 1981 (Dept. of Census and Statistics,15). The greatly expanded education system created new expectations among the youth of the country which resulted in increased migration to the urban centres spurring a rise in demand for modern sector jobs. Traditional kinship ties suffered as this transpired and the economy's incapacity to accommodate the newly educated youth resulted in consistently high rates of unemployment and underemployment for this portion of the population (Kearney/Miller,86,90).

The economic prosperity initially experienced by Sri Lanka after WWII was short-lived as terms of trade deteriorated with prices for commodities dropping, prices for imports increasing, and the rate of inflation escalating. In the meantime, social service expenditures had risen sixfold over the twenty years from 1951 to 1971 to provide for free education, health services, and food subsidies. By 1976, Sri Lanka had to exchange nearly three times as much of its major exports of tea, rubber, and coconut products than it had in 1955 just to receive the same return. The country was now spending almost 50% of its export earnings on imports of food-stuffs and clothing. To compound the country's financial problems further, its external debt in 1976 had increased sixteen times over what it had been in 1960 (Kantowsky,109-111).

Government initiatives to improve or maintain living standards in rural communities led to the introduction of the Divisional Development Councils (DDC's) in 1970. The DDC's were essentially village cooperatives that were to enhance development planning and implementation at the local level by encouraging popular participation. Under the direction of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs the types of projects undertaken by the DDC's would address agricultural, industrial, fishery, or infrastructural needs that would be cost effective by incorporating appropriate technology and local labour. Fundamental flaws in the participation aspect of the DDC initiative was evident with respect to the fact that locals did not choose the project. Furthermore, political favour played an important part in determining who would be employed on projects. Errors in planning, mismanagement, plus instances where loyalty to a political party influenced project implementation led to poor project choice, insufficient capital, and ultimately, a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the co-op members combined to hinder the long-term prospects of the project (Richards/Gooneratne,132-134).

Increasing marginalization of certain segments of the population due to worsening economic conditions prompted the government to attempt a program of land reform in 1972 in order to address the problems of the rural poor. The Land Reform Act of 1972, and its subsequent implementation from 1972 to 1975, represented the greatest intervention of the Sri Lankan government into the country's economy to that date. With major reductions in estate landholdings (up to 70% initially), the intended benefits of such land reform was seen in terms of possible redistribution of income, the creation of employment through better management, and even redistribution of political influence (Richards/Gooneratne,91,93). Criticism of the program arose as landless peasants were prevented from obtaining land due to technical legalities or because the land redistribution resulted in an allocation of parcels far from where the recipients lived. Other criticisms focused on the lack of assistance provided to develop the land received and the fact that there was no firm title to the land acquired (Richards/Gooneratne,95).

Other government policies were oriented less to development needs of the rural communities and more toward specifically discriminating against the Tamil minority. The Sinhalese peasant resettlement program affected the northern and eastern provinces and was initiated from the time of independence largely on the historical pretext that these areas were the location of the previous Sinhala Buddhist civilization. The resettlement program was perceived by the Tamils, on the other hand, as an intrusion onto their traditional *homelands*. As a consequence, it heightened ethnic tensions during the 1970s and eventually prompted Tamil separatists to demand their own state (Eelam) (Tambiah,68-69). The increased ethnic tensions created by this program added to the hopelessness felt by Tamil youths who saw their future opportunities being continually eroded by discriminatory education and employment policies. The Sinhala-Tamil conflict reached a violent impetus in the early 1980s. The UNP government in 1979 passed the oppressive *Prevention of Terrorism Act* which gave security forces new powers and restricted the activities of Tamils in the north. These ethnic tensions culminated with violent riots in 1983 that resulted in the deaths of hundreds. The rioting was confined mainly to urban centres and the rioters were generally comprised of urban (predominantly from Colombo) working-class origins, small businessmen, students, and the unemployed. Complicity of Sinhala politicians, organized crime figures, small businessmen, and some militant Buddhist monks contributed to the violence (Tambiah,71,74).

From 1984 to 1987, the government increasingly relied upon a military solution to the problem of ethnic violence. This period of the conflict saw both Hindus and Buddhists suffer as attacks on their religious sites and on worshipers themselves intensified. The Tamil militants receiving political support from the Indian government, in combination with the failure of the Sri Lankan forces to eradicate the rebels, as well as the threat of an invasion by Indian forces, led the Sri Lankan government to sign the *Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord* in July, 1987. This accord officially affirmed Sri Lanka to be "multi-ethnic and multi-lingual plural society", and the fact that "the northern and eastern provinces have been areas of historical habitation of the Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking peoples". These elements of the accord irritated most Sinhalese nationalists as they saw it as giving too many concessions to the Tamils (Tambiah,75-76).

By the 1990s the island was experiencing something of an economic boom and there was a shift in government policy to one of *economic liberalization* that would open up the country's economy to foreign investment. This policy initiative came on the heels of a *structural adjustment programme* provoked by the IMF and economic aid donors that was started in the mid-1980s and a privitization scheme that commenced in 1987. The present government's intent is to become one of the *newly industrialized countries* so that aid will not be necessary with the prospect of increased exports. Sri Lanka is concentrating on non-traditional exports to accomplish this goal. and these exports will take advantage of low-cost labour and include clothes and assembled computers that already account for 66% of country's exports. However, social problems persist as unemployment rages on at around 20%, and the country's annual per capita income is only about $400 (US) per year (Manchester Guardian Weekly, May17, 1992,16). The ever present problems of unemployment and economic inequality between the classes, combined in Sri Lanka with ethnic conflict which has built-up over the decades, to threaten the economic and political stability of the country. Sri Lanka has historically had great potential in terms of the levels of literacy and formal education of its people, and the Sri Lankans perceive the value of education as a means of fulfilling their hopes and aspirations for the future. Having this potential lost to the hatred and violence permeating the country in recent times would indeed be a tragedy. Valuable resources are being expended more towards a military solution to the country's problems and less towards trying to cultivate understanding and addressing the needs of the most marginalized segments of the population which cross-cut ethnic boundaries.

b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA

Education in Sri Lanka has a deeply-rooted history that is closely interconnected with the country's Buddhist cultural traditions. Educational traditions in the pre-Buddhist period were based on the provision of needs for subsistance (ie. agriculture, livestock, hunting), and the country's history of apprenticeship goes back to this period when economic and military demands for security reasons necessitated the training of craftsmen. When Buddhism was introduced onto the island during the middle of the third century B.C. an educational tradition was initiated that would foster a history of intellectual achievement (Jayasuriya,4-7).

The traditional education forms found in pre-colonial Sri Lanka were decidedly *Eastern* in nature. The Eastern educational traditions are characterized by an emphasis on understanding of the *self* by a process of "introspection, self-analysis, reflection, and insight meditation" (Hewage,44). In Buddhism, learning and teaching were considered religious duties that helped both the learner and teacher develop their own *Right Understanding,* which is the first step in the *Middle Path* or *Noble Eightfold Path* of Buddhism. Education in each phase of life from childhood to adulthood is given equal value which promotes the philosophy that learning is a life-long process. Furthermore, religious knowledge in the Buddhist system reflects an education system that puts a high priority on the ethical and moral aspects of learning, in contrast to an emphasis on the scientific which predominates Western education (Hewage,43-45).

The learning traditions in Sri Lanka were originally communicated from generation to generation by oral chanting before it was committed to writing sometime in the first century before the Christian era (Hewage,51). The education process was influenced by Buddhist teaching which emphasized the avoidance of extremes. The particular extremes to be discouraged in conducting one's everyday life were:

> ...excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures and self-mortification, ...ideological extremes, and ...extremely strict authoritative discipline and extremely liberal free discipline (Hewage,54).

Buddhist teachings stressed that the *Middle Path* be followed that encourages learning and "promotes simplicity in individual life, non-violence, sharing, compassion, and a sustainable global society in the long run" (Hewage,55).

Buddhist tradition originally required that novices be taught the Buddhist doctrine under the guidance of a guru (teacher) and secular education traditions were introduced well before the arrival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The traditional Buddhist philosophy of education stressed that it should be egalitarian in nature by being made available to all regardless of one's station in life (Gamage,72). Buddhist monks "were both the traditional intelligentsia and the traditional educators of the Sinhala laity" throughout Sri Lankan antiquity (Gombrich/Obeseyekere,207). Organized education was conducted in Buddhist institutions known as *pirivenas* that catered to the learning needs of both the Buddhist clergy and the laity in general. Although these institutions devoted a major part of their educational effort to literacy for perpetuating Buddhist teachings, secular teaching was eventually introduced which probably contributed to technical advances that are evidenced by the irrigation canals that were constructed in ancient times (SIDA,11). The learning process for the majority, however, took place in their everyday life experiences without the benefit of formal schooling. Occupations were determined by caste which meant that the role one played in society would not be greatly altered from generation to generation. Only the very basic technological means were employed, nonetheless such technology as was available and indeed used was adequate to sustain individual village economies (Wijemanne,1).

The oral traditions in the formal learning process depended on memorization where discussion between the teacher and the student was integral to establishing whether the lesson had been communicated effectively. This process could also result in the teacher accepting the pupil's interpretation of the lesson (Jayasuriya,14-15). Buddhists had made an analysis of the learning process that resulted in a classification into four levels of learning:

- acquisition of knowledge
- comprehension of what was learnt
- retention in the mind of what was learnt
- the capacity to communicate knowledge to others (Jayasuriya,18).

The classification of learning in this manner reflected a process of greater understanding with the ultimate aim of being able to transmit the knowledge one had acquired to others. The value of education in early Sri Lankan society is witnessed in the high technical competence of the Sinhalese as far back as the first century. The construction of dams and the digging of canals for irrigation displayed ingenuity and an ability comparable to a highly developed society (Jayasuriya,18-19).

Hindu and Muslim educational traditions in Sri Lanka have histories of formal education that created literate communities and examples of well developed studies in certain disciplines. Within each group the educational experience was deeply infused with the study of their respective religious culture, but the Hindus were particularly adept in medicine and astrology, while the Muslims were proficient in literature, logic, and Islamic law. Overall, these groups did not have the educational facilities that the Buddhists had at their disposal due to their larger numbers and the royal patronage that benefitted them (Jayasuriya,20-21). The educational traditions of both the Hindus and Muslims suffered with the commencement of the period of colonial rule and their influence was gradually eroded over time. The onset of the colonial period with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, meant that the influence and esteem of the Buddhist educational tradition in Sri Lanka would also be greatly undermined, although not to the extent of that of the Hindus and Muslims. The erosion of Buddhist educational influences on the island would evolve over a period of time through a concerted effort by successive colonial powers to do so. This effort would be directly targeted against established educational institutions and would also mean an attack on Buddhism itself.

The colonial powers brought their own administrative and institutional traditions with them as was revealed in the previous section. In terms of schooling, this would mean that there would be "a more formal, impersonal, rationalistic, and utilitarian style of education" than that previously experienced by the inhabitants of the island (Ames:1973,146). The Portuguese established parish schools where reading and writing in Portuguese was taught for the purpose of learning Christian scripture. The influence of Christianity was substantial as the Portuguese would not allow the worship of other religions in their territories. Education in Portuguese quickly became interrelated with employment prospects in government, thus setting an early precedent for the necessity of education for modern sector employment opportunities (Wijemanne,1). Patronage and preference in appointments among Christians led many to convert as the nobility wanted to retain their status and the lower classes saw chances of moving up the social ladder that was not possible under the caste system (Gamage,76).

After the Dutch ousted the Portuguese from the island they immediately attempted to inculcate their own religious influence on the population and remove the Catholic influences brought by the Portuguese. The Dutch went about doing this by establishing parish schools in every village possible in an effort to convert the population to the Christian Reformed Church and bring Protestant Christian principles to the country. High offices could not be held by anyone not belonging to this Church and school headmasters maintained records to note who had become members of the Church (Jayasuriya,24). The Dutch were more apt to use the Sinhala and Tamil languages in their schools than the Portuguese had. Additionally, they made school compulsory up to age fifteen and they were the first to establish school boards and undertake annual inspections of the schools (Wijemanne,1/Ames:1973,147).

The British educational influences were initiated from the time of their takeover of the Dutch controlled coastal regions in 1796. The British recognized that religion was a unifying force among the island's indigenous people that could undermine their strategy for complete political, social, and economic control over the people. The erosion of the influence of traditional chieftains and headmen was important, and this objective was undertaken by the British in order to abolish social distinctions based on caste. Cultural traditions such as these would be replaced by new (Western) institutional methods for social mobility where positions of status would be achieved by having a solid educational foundation (Jayasuriya,32). The colonial government took responsibility for the recurring costs of the schools with the underlying intent of this sponsorship being to instill Christianity in the indigenous people and thereby engender a sense of loyalty to Britain in the process (Jayasuriya,42). Conversion to Christianity would be the desired outcome that would best suite the ends of the British and there was no doubt that education would be the major tool to accomplish this.

The Protestant missionaries arrived in 1805 for this specific purpose and they would incorporate local vernacular in both the teaching and the preaching process. Secular schools were also established that were either government or privately funded but remained under Christian control for most of the nineteenth century (Ames:1973,148). The schools established in this period were transplanted replications of those in the West and one could expect a curriculum and order of conduct representing Western traditions, customs, and cultural values. A dual system of education was to emerge where schools operated by Christian denominations existed along with state- run schools. This led to differentiation between the two types of schools along the lines of language of instruction, quality of facilities, and religious content. Education stratified along class lines was viewed by the elites for the most part as the result of a natural division of society between the *haves* and the *have nots* (Gamage,77-78).

During the colonial period, the significance of language of instruction emerged as an important factor contributing to class formation and the stratification process. Education served to underline social divisions through a literacy process that had middle-class Sinhalese exposed to their language through translations of Christian scripture, while the upper-class Sinhalese who were educated in English where exposed to Buddhism through English translations of Buddhist scripture. In addition to creating more defined class distinctions, this process also made for an interesting phenomenon where there was "an indigenization of Christianity and an anglicization of Buddhism" (Ames:1973,149).

Restrictions on Roman Catholics imposed by the Dutch were not lifted until 1806, and the elimination of previous barriers on Catholics led to an expansion of Catholic schools and a popularity of the religion that came to rival the Protestants. These challenges to the Protestants made the past neglect of Protestant schools by the British colonial office that much more evident. A concerted effort to revive Protestant education in the country was undertaken with the repair and restoration of existing schools, new schools being established, and more money being appropriated for teachers' salaries (Jayasuriya,45,47-48).

In 1817, Sri Lanka came under the Bishopric of Calcutta and a Senior Chaplin and a Principal of Government Schools were appointed to effectively make the Church of England the governing body of the government schools. This would make it less likely for any individual Governor to have the opportunity to have a profound effect on the administration of schooling in the colony (Jayasuriya,51). The American Mission arrived in the country in 1813 and established themselves in the Tamil region. This was to be a historically significant development that would have an impact on the future social transitions Sri Lanka was to experience. The exposure to the American Mission schools enabled the Tamils to acquire the proficiency in English that would later gain them employment in the civil service as well as an advantage in commerce (Jayasuriya,61-62). The resources and influence of the colonial government were applied to the promotion of Christianity to win over the native population; however, it was the prospects for civil service jobs by acquiring an English education that was the driving force behind the population's embracement of Christianity.

The English medium schools assured access to civil service employment and also enabled native Sri Lankans to enter professions such as law, medicine, and engineering. Unfortunately, these schools were for the advantage of the few, while the masses were deprived of highly qualified staff and relegated to an education designed mainly to convert them over to Christianity (Wijemanne,2). Education in this period of British colonial rule was to emphasize "the superiority of western culture" above that of "the superstitious and speculative metaphysical qualities of the East", and thus, the English style of education would prove the benefits of civilized society (Ames:1973,152). To aid in this process:

> Religious publications were used to interpret and justify the scientific, economic, and political theories of the British to their colonial subjects (Ames:1973,153).

The resulting discrimination in educational services against non-Christians is made obvious from the above noted sentiments. Discrimination against non-Christians was operative in terms of availability of education, or exclusion from representation on panels of Education Commissions and access to government aid that was made available to Christian schools but denied to non-Christian schools on the grounds that they did not fulfill the objectives of the State (Jayasuriya,192).

With the education system structured on this basis, the native population eventually lost any in-depth awareness of their own cultural traditions. Those educated in the Christian and government-run schools in the urban centres developed attitudes of disdain for those in rural communities, associating them and their superstitious religious beliefs with "men steeped in barbarism and ignorance" (Ames:1973,154-155). Not until the later decades of the nineteenth century did the colonial government's policy change to one of neutrality in education matters, and non-Christian schools and secular schools where finally given State assistance. However, this new policy came after almost a century of State support for the Christian missionary schools, and the remaining Buddhist schools that managed to survive lacking any central organizational structure in this period. Therefore, the Buddhist schools did not pose any threat to the status of the missionary schools even with the opportunity of now getting government aid (Phandnis,65-66). The establishment of the Buddhist Theosophical Society in 1880 was to change this as it provided some formal organizational structure for the first time. The efforts of this Society allowed for the growth of a Buddhist educational movement and the building of Buddhist schools, although they would be modelled on the Christian missionary schools (ie.Buddhist Sunday Schools) (Phandnis,68).

With these policy changes in place a Buddhist revival period was instigated culminating in a renewed effort towards providing Buddhist educational services. Although this was basically an urban middle-class phenomenon, the religious revival instilled a sense of nationalism among the Sinhalese people. Western culture was scrutinized for all its apparent vices and deficiencies, partly in order to renew a sense of pride in the Sinhalese culture, develop a sense of national solidarity, and to politically challenge the colonial state. Here, one witnesses the first meaningful efforts towards gaining independence from the colonial masters and education was viewed as a vital step to this goal. The Buddhist education movement had the aim of shedding the stigma of Sinhalese alleged inferiority and replacing it with concepts of self-reliance and self-rule (Phandnis,69-70). The efforts of this movement were successful in increasing the number of government-aided Buddhist schools as reflected in figures showing an increase from only four schools in 1880 to 142 by 1900. The movement also managed to draw the English-educated and Sinhalese-educated intelligentsia together in a common struggle for the promotion of the Buddhist faith and the re-establishment of their cultural and national pride (Ames:1973,159).

Events pertaining to the development of education in Sri Lanka progressed quickly in the years leading up to the country's independence. By 1945, free education from primary school to university was established and the educational emphasis on Western culture and traditions was being replaced by an emphasis on Sinhala and Tamil culture. Attempts were made to increase instruction in the mother tongue and by 1955 schools were directed to have all levels of instruction available in Sinhala and Tamil, although a lack of textbooks and teachers allowed English to remain dominant in the schools until 1964 (Gamage,79). The years leading to independence also saw science instruction being expanded beyond just the privileged few to secondary grades in some rural schools, and a scholarship program initiated to provide better opportunities for access to quality education for poorer students. The effort towards expanding educational services to meet the public demand saw a precipitous increase in the number of schools in the country. In the thirty years from 1943 to 1973 there was a 60% increase in the number of schools and a threefold increase in student enrollments, with a particular emphasis placed on redressing the discrepancy between the previously favoured urban centres and the disadvantaged rural areas (Wijemanne,2). By 1962, almost all denominational and private schools which received grants-in-aid from the government had been nationalized, with the government "now providing for the teaching of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, or Islam according to the religion of the student" (Ames:1973,148). Colonial education traditions were now being recognized for their tendency to perpetuate social stratification and maintain the vested interests of the elite, thereby hindering overall national development.

An unanticipated effect of this expansion of educational services was to create a large body of educated, but unemployed, youth whose frustration erupted in April 1971 with an insurgency to overthrow the government. This insurgency prompted an attempt by the educational authorities to bring about reforms to the education system. Pre-vocational studies were introduced thereafter for grades six to nine in order to emphasize employment opportunities of a manual nature that were directed to enhancing production and internalizing positive values such as the dignity of labour, self-discipline, and co-operation (Richards/Gooneratne,148). These efforts were to guide students into occupations deemed necessary for the development of the economy rather than to focus their career goals strictly towards white-collar employment. However, students' attitudes against vocational education prevented the success of the reforms as most traditional sector jobs were commonly associated with certain castes and the technological attributes of these jobs was such that high educational qualifications were not required (Wijemanne,9). A new government in 1977 terminated the reform process altogether and a colonial model was re-introduced in this period. But the persistent defects in the system failed to address the country's economic needs and the aspirations of the people, while leaving a situation where unemployment and underemployment remained high among Sri Lanka's educated population (Gamage,81).

Presently, the formal education system in Sri Lanka consists of one year of pre-primary education followed by a primary education level (grades1 to 5), a junior secondary education level (grades 6 to 10), and a senior secondary education level (grades 11 and 12). Students leaving the formal system before or at grade 10 can enroll in an apprenticeship training program conducted by the National Apprenticeship Board, or alternatively, study at a *school leaver's centre* or take part in a *skill centre* operated by the Ministry of Labour (SIDA,15). Only about 60% of any given cohort of children proceed to the junior secondary level, and only 25% of those students (75,000 out of 300,000) proceed to the senior secondary level. Once at the senior secondary level, a student can choose from three streams of study: science, commerce, and arts. The number of students who continue on to university from the senior level drops dramatically to only 2% of a given cohort (SIDA,19-21).

Generally speaking, enrollment rates are consistently higher for urban dwellers than for those living in rural areas even though 80% of the population is rural. In addition, enrollment and retention rates are highest for those in the top income groupings, and correspondingly, the performance of students in these top income groups tends to be better than for students from lower income families (SIDA,9). The common scenario whereby the expense of education becomes so burdensome on lower income families at each progressive level of their child's schooling that the student is forced to drop out became a particular concern to education authorities. In 1980, a *White Paper on Education* recommended instituting a program for providing "free textbooks for grades 1 to 10, extended school meals, continuous upgrading of science equipment and laboratories, and in-service training of uncertificated teachers"(SIDA,41). Specific educational goals of the 1980 *White Paper* were concerned with educating students about social relationships and how education would be defined in terms of its relationship to the working world. Other considerations focused on social equality as well as economic growth, and an understanding of the dynamics of development at the national and international levels (SIDA,42).

The problem of quality of instruction is yet another factor plaguing the school system in Sri Lanka. An estimated 40% of teachers in the system are untrained or are improperly trained in the country's Teachers Colleges, thus contributing to poor quality education throughout the country (SIDA,56,59). Despite many drawbacks of Sri Lanka's education system, the country has made impressive gains in developing education at all levels and this has been done in the face of rapid population growth. Sri Lanka's high rate of literacy is specific evidence of this. Although, the impact of these gains is hindered as Sri Lanka encounters the phenomenon of *diploma disease* which is common among *developing countries.* The frustration of the educated unemployed or underemployed continues unabated in the dismal economic climate that pervades these countries.

The development of education in Sri Lanka since independence has revolved around issues of nationalism and restoration of cultural dignity that has involved particular ethnic dynamics. These issues then evolved into ones that concerned questions of equality of opportunity as well as the content and quality of education received in order to compete in the labour market. The efforts of education in Sri Lanka to bring about profound social change is intermingled with specific aspects of the Buddhist revivalist movement to give the nature of educational development in this country its own unique character. These dynamics gave rise to the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* self-help movement in Sri Lanka that has a unique character in terms of its philosophy and approach to rural development. The section that immediately follows examines this movement as a grassroots oriented, popularly ased route to social-cultural development. The evolution of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in Sri Lanka is explored here within the context of the historical and educational development of Sri Lanka that has already been presented. It is my premise that *Sarvodaya Shramadana* has deep roots in both Sri Lanka's unique Buddhist traditions and history as well as recent developments specifically discussed above.

c) SELF-HELP THROUGH *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA*

The Buddhist revivalist movement that evolved from the late 1800s and ultimately played a key role in spurring on the drive towards independence in Sri Lanka has doubtlessly had a significant impact on the country's recent historical development. The same movement, it is my contention, has had a direct impact on the emergence and growth of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* self-help movement in Sri Lanka. This section will examine how cultural aspects have been dominant in shaping and guiding the evolution and expansion of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* throughout Sri Lanka over the last three decades or so. Initially, the examination of this movement will concentrate on the roots of *Sarvodaya* in a Gandhian philosophical prescription for an ideal society. The discussion will then go on to describe how this philosophy was transplanted in Sri Lanka and subsequently incorporated into a new movement to address rural development needs. The transplanting of this philosophical orientation in Sri Lanka required that some adaptation of the Gandhian doctrine to the Buddhist culture of the country. This adaptation process will be outlined in some depth. In attempting to apply the Gandhian philosophy to social development in a predominantly Buddhist context, something quite unique emerged. The structure, organization, and rural development strategy of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* in Sri Lanka will be detailed in order to provide some conception of the nature and pervasiveness of this self-help movement. Such an analytical description will allow some assessment to be made of the movement's success and/or failure in its objectives.

Sarvodaya was conceived in its Gandhian form as a distinct approach to social development that would enhance the living standards of marginalized populations wherever they may be. Non-violent resistance (*Satyagraha*) and peace brigade *(Shanti Seha)* were the terms coined by Mahatma Gandhi in India to inspire the masses to action, along with *Sarvodaya,* which he translated to mean "the welfare of all". Vinoba Bhave was to follow in Gandhi's footsteps and add the concepts of land gift *(Bhoodan)* and village gift *(Gramdan)* to the vocabulary of those pursuing social change for the betterment of the least advantaged in society through a Gandhian philosophy for social change (Narayanasamy,287). *Sarvodaya* was Gandhi's concept for a new type of society that is non-violent, stateless, casteless, and classless. Gandhi expressed his political philosophy as it applies to this *Sarvodaya* society in terms of its anarchistic orientation when he concluded that "a society organized and run on the basis of complete non-violence would be the purest anarchy" (Narayanasamy,288).

Gandhi's *Sarvodaya* philosophy focused on the individual in an attempt to initiate a program that would develop the mental, spiritual, and physical powers of each person for the benefit of the community as a whole. Therefore, this was to be a development process that was not preoccupied with economic variables in an effort to address social problems or counter structural constraints. This concept for development would instead concentrate on making a "full utilization of the talents inherent in each individual" (Sinha,167). This endeavour would be assisted through a program of *Sarvodaya* education that would combine learning and working in the context of mental and moral development so that a productive contribution would be made to the overall development of society (Colletta, et al, 272). To Gandhi, knowledge worked to release the individual from human suffering and reliance on material possessions. He felt that the British style of education experienced in India had an alienating effect on the population and the use of English specifically, was a divisive factor between the urban and rural people. A Gandhian education would have instruction in the mother tongue of the community so that a sense of personal identity would be encouraged. Gandhi's educational program sought to create a desire among the young to serve the community and the learning of productive skills would eliminate divisions based on class and caste (Zachariah,69-70). Gandhi hoped that an education program that would inculcate new values, attitudes, and skills among the young people of society would inspire them to instigate some fundamental social change in their social environment (Zachariah,72).

In essence, this Gandhian approach to social development is one that is basically wholistic in nature, concentrating its focus at the individual level initially so that its impact may eventually be felt at the level of the whole of society. For Gandhi, this was a fundamentally necessary process if there was to be progress at the individual level development as well as for society as a whole. His reflections on this point were expressed in March 1933 when he stated that:

> A nation cannot advance without the units of which it is composed, advancing, and conversely, no individual can advance without the nation of which it is a part also advancing (Mohanty,60).

Gandhi theorized that governments that were more accessible to the people would, correspondingly, be more sensitive to people's needs and more responsible in their actions. Decentralization, thus became a pivotal concept in Gandhi's quest for the most effective form of government. In pursuit of this, Gandhi envisioned a government structure of ever-widening integrated circles which he referred to as an *ocean of circles* that would replace the hierarchical pyramid structure of present government forms. This would put each village community on an equal basis in the governing process, and according to Gandhi, ensure that "no one is to be first and none the last" (Zachariah,85).

Gandhi's conception of the philosophical underpinnings that would embody the ideal State focused upon three basic themes. Firstly, individual self-rule and self-control would be central to a society where people would live according to their minimal needs and not be a burden on their fellow citizens. Secondly, Western ideals of capitalism and industrialism were to be rejected in favour of a more cooperative and simple way of life. Additionally, Western society catered too much to over-indulgence and an over-dependence on machine technology while not placing sufficient weight to spiritual and moral values. Lastly, non-violence would be a paramount feature of Gandhi's ideal State. Gandhi was convinced that systematic non-cooperation and non-violent resistance would eventually triumph over armed aggression. Such action would require a commitment of self-sacrifice and self-suffering to defeat any opposing forces, and a deep conviction in terms of religious faith and commitment to one's fellow man (Priest, 151-154).

With the establishment of this philosophical orientation to the State and the political, an ideal society could emerge and this is what Gandhi termed the *Sarvodaya* society. The concept of a *Sarvodaya* society represented Gandhi's unique brand of socialism, that although it was revolutionary in nature, its components made it different from other ideological orientations such as Marxism. Gandhian socialism differed from Marxism, first, in its non-violent route to social change, and second, by the fact that it was guided by humanistic and spiritual elements which gave it universal applications (Mohanty,27).

Gandhi perceived the village as being integral to a society's revitalization (especially concerning villages in India). To solve endemic problems such as poverty, disease, lack of educational opportunities, and various forms of exploitation, a change of revolutionary proportions would be required. However, in order to initiate change at the village level, Gandhi anticipated that basic individual failings would have to be addressed first. Gandhi's philosophy stressed the importance of the individual within the context of his community (not in the classic liberal sense), and as such, detrimental human instincts such as the desire for more power, and capitalist instincts of the individual to increase private property holdings needed to be undermined (Zachariah,22,59). The revolutionary process of social change embodied in Gandhi's *Sarvodaya* philosophy would engender the type of spiritual enlightenment necessary to provide the individual with the basic truths by which he could reorientate his life in relation to society (Zachariah,18). Such a social and individual transformation would concentrate on making the individual simultaneously less egoistic and more altruistic, with a reduced infatuation with material possessions. The achievement of this society would rely heavily on the concept of manual labour for all as a method of reducing class and caste distinctions, instilling a sense of civic duty, and for providing the basic necessities of life (Zachariah,42-43).

Gandhi realized that psychologizing people to a new conscious awareness would not be sufficient to solve the problem of exploitation. The importance of *praxis* was fundamental to Gandhi's goal of a new society. Activity shaped the individual and could bring him dignity through the process of providing for one's basic needs and making an overall improvement in one's way of life. In this way, the activity undertaken would enable the individual to overcome the fear that is making him weak, and instead become strong and self-reliant (Thirumahia,80). Work would thus give the individual a sense of freedom by providing for his basic needs, and it would make evident the importance of gaining control over the means of production in agriculture and cottage industries (Bhatt,87). In *developing countries,* land is one of the most prized possessions and land reform would have to be a key initiative in any process for change enhancing the capabilities of agricultural production for the rural poor (Kantowsky,29). Cottage industries, on the other hand, would be rejuvenated through rediscovering traditional and readily accessible technological processes, only incorporating modern technology that is appropriate to the specific environment (Bhatt,85). The *Sarvodaya* process for change would, hence, work to reduce any tensions arising from scarcity of vital resources through social and economic equality and political decentralization (Narayanasamy,290).

A society based on these principles would thereby work towards improving the living conditions of the least advantaged and strive for social justice for all. Gandhi conceded that his non-violent revolution would take longer to achieve than other revolutionary methods, and he was criticized accordingly by Marxists for being naive in thinking that those who have power and benefit the most from the existing social structure will voluntarily give them up by moral suasion, but Gandhi believed his revolution would last longer using these means (Zachariah,59-60). Others saw the *Sarvodaya* philosophy as some utopian scheme that was not serious about combating persistent social problems, leading one prominent Indian socialist, J.P. Narayan, to comment:

> The (*Sarvodaya*) Plan is no wishy-washy sentimentalism, but a concrete programme of basic social revolution (Kantowsky,28).

Through the inspiration of a Sri Lankan biology teacher who was influenced by this Gandhian philosophy for social change, the concept of *Sarvodaya* was initiated in Sri Lanka in 1958. Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne recognized the importance of creating an awareness among his students from the urban-elite as to the plight of their fellow citizens of low-caste living in rural areas. Ariyaratne perceived that familiarizing the urban students to rural living conditions could best be done by physically taking the students to the countryside and exposing them to the reality of life there first hand. Out of an initial two week visit to the country in 1958 the inspirational seed of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement germinated as the urban students gained experience in learning of the needs and wants of the rural people as well as acquiring knowledge of their customs and traditions (Macy,24). The direction of the movement during the first ten years of its existence was confined to activities of this nature. Students as well as teachers lived and worked in economically depressed rural villages in order to learn of the people's predicaments there and possibly help improve some living conditions through developing drinking water and irrigation projects, for example (Ariyaratne,108).

Although the *Sarvodaya* philosophy was perceived by Gandhi as being universally applicable, its introduction to Sri Lanka had its orientation adapted to Buddhist teachings, values, and traditions that were culturally specific to the country. *Sarvodaya Shramadana* was grounded in the Sinhalese Buddhist revivalist movement in Sri Lanka that had taken hold among the educated-elites of the country's urban society. Thus this movement came to symbolize to its many volunteers a devotion to the spiritual and economic regeneration of Sri Lanka. Individual development was an important objective in this context and four Buddhist principles were employed by the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement as a basis to achieve this end. These principles included *Metta,* which was a personal quality expressed through one's concern and respect for life; *Karuna,* which is demonstrated by way of one acting to remove the suffering of others; *Muditha,* which is described as a form of mental reward for good deeds within one's community that becomes translated as "altruistic joy"; and *Upekkha,* which is considerate behaviour (Hewage/Radcliffe,68). Individual development was instrumental to the learning process and to consciousness-raising, objectives that would be part of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* education program. This process of individual development was undertaken with the purpose of ultimately having a profound effect on the community as a whole in order to work to enhance its development potential (Ariyaratne,118). Denying the existence of a soul. Buddhist doctrine considers the mind to be the instrument that will cultivate a path to salvation that will include morality, meditation, and wisdom (Gombrich/Obeyesekere,16). The role of education comes into play here to reduce or remove unacceptable personal qualities and restore a proper mental make-up within the individual. This would involve both moral concerns and matters pertaining to social justice.

The educational endeavour undertaken by *Sarvodaya Shramadana* involved a concerted effort to remove the student from the formal setting of the classroom with its textbooks and exams. This environment would be replaced with one which was reality-based in an isolated village in rural Sri Lanka. These outings were organized into work camps within the village which were called *Shramadana* camps as *Shramadana* means "the sharing of one's labour" (Ariyaratne,110). The work camps were intended to have the effect of, firstly, making villagers aware of their capabilities and potential, both individually and collectively, by using the resources readily available to them. Secondly, these work camps were to have the effect of instilling a sense of social responsibility in those higher up in socio-economic status and encouraging them to demonstrate their concern to the less privileged (Radcliffe,64). Individual personalities and backgrounds were allowed to intermingle within these *Shramadana* camps as university professors and urban youth could exchange experiences with illiterate rural villagers. A dialogue was maintained from day to day by everyone involved in the camp by way of three to five hour daily meetings called *family gatherings.* Communication by a variety of means (drama, singing, story-telling, meditation) was encouraged so that knowledge could be shared and people would learn from each other (Ariyaratne,110-111). These meetings had the result of enlightening the outside volunteers as to the most immediate needs of the villagers, and ultimately devising a project plan in the process. A project plan could be agreed upon by the whole of the community collectively that would address the most attainable needs considering the resources available. Additionally, the daily *family gatherings* had the intended purpose of reawakening the four principles of personality development *(Metta, Karuna, Muditha,* *Upekkha)* within each participant as these were viewed by organizers as important components making up the foundation of the country's Buddhist rural culture.

With the four principles for individual development being inculcated within one's personality, the individual could then go on to embrace the four principles for social development that would serve him/her in everyday social relations. The four principles for social development include *Dana,* which is the act of "self-less sharing and giving"; *Priya-Vachana,* which refers to the ability to communicate effectively but translates as "pleasant speech"; *Arthacariya,* which implies being involved in constructive activity; and *Samanatmata,* which is the attitude of equality between all (Hewage/Radcliffe,68). The entrenchment of these Buddhist principles within each individual participant was believed to provide each person with the ability to solve all problems arising out of social situations from one's worldly contacts, thereby relieving tensions and mitigating social conflict (Kantowsky,47,50). Thus, these principles derived from traditional Buddhist teachings could be used as a mobilizing force by the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement in that one could be judged according to one's contributions and devotion to development projects that will benefit others. In Buddhist tradition, this serves as a path to salvation and ultimate release from the endless cycle of birth and rebirth.

The philosophy of *Sarvodaya* views learning as an ongoing process throughout one's lifetime that will eventually result in personal self-realization and salvation. Specifically, within the truths of Buddhism, learning is perceived as a liberating process from one's own personal failings that inhibit personal development. One of the most prevalent of these personal failings that constrain one's development is craving. Craving is closely associated with greed and is considered as the major cause of social conflict and human suffering that prohibits personal freedom and happiness. The ultimate objective of individual development is to alleviate craving, and Buddhist teaching prescribes sharing as a solution to relieve perpetual suffering (Ariyaratne,115). Learning also serves to "help the individual to control and structure his physical, verbal, and mental life" so that the elimination of craving will evolve into "better understanding and wisdom" (Ariyaratne,119). While craving is associated with ignorance, wisdom is associated with freedom and happiness. The principle of sharing was adopted as the basis of *Sarvodaya's* theory of learning, and when applied to community development, this theory encompasses "all forms of sharing beginning with the sharing of labour and ending with the sharing of knowledge" (Ariyaratne,120). In the *Sarvodaya* learning process, this knowledge is not restricted to traditional knowledge which is valued for its accumulated past human experience, but also embraces scientific knowledge which can be incorporated appropriately to enhance the development process, while simultaneously reducing craving (Ariyaratne,121).

What has been outlined above then, is the theoretical basis under which *Sarvodaya* endeavours to bring about fundamental social change through individual and community development within the framework of traditional Buddhist teachings. Out of these theoretical underpinnings the movement in Sri Lanka formulated some General Objectives and General Principles that were agreed upon out of discussions emanating from various *family gatherings* that took place during the first years of the movement. These Objectives and Principles would guide the movement into the future and serve to define its purpose within Sri Lankan society. A condensed version of the General Objectives of *Sarvodaya* are:

> - To provide... adequate opportunities and the appropriate mental climate for the realization of the principles, the philosophy, and the objectives of Sarvodaya by the Shramadana voluntary workers... ;
> - To provide opportunities to youth to acquire a correct understanding of the socio-economic and other problems of the country... ;
> - To organize programs with a view to the eradication of distrust and social disintegration arising from such differences as caste, race, creed, and party politics;
> - To disseminate qualities of selfless service, self-denial, co-operation, self-discipline, and the dignity of labour among the people of the land ;
> - To encourage the development... of healthy views on social justice, equality, love of one's motherland and international brotherhood;
> - To develop self-confidence, co-operation, and unity among the urban and rural communities... ;
> - To train and organize groups of youth who are ready to come forward and render voluntary service in times of national distress... ;
> - To collect and mobilize the maximum possible resources of the people, such as their time, intelligence, energy, wealth, specialized skills and technological knowledge... (Ariyaratne,111-112).

Some of the General Principles to which everyone in the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement are encouraged to aspire to are:

> - To observe Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial at all times;
> - To attain progressively the goal of a simple way of living;
> - To avoid political party affiliation... ;
> - To assist in the national development and social welfare projects of the government;
> - To attempt to replace the present system of private ownership of wealth, competitiveness, hatred, greed, and force with a Sarvodaya Social Order based on community ownership, co-operation, love, and self-denial... ;
> - ...to render service in other Sarvodaya steps and measures that establish a Sarvodaya Social System in which justice and equality shall be the

> salient features and in which exploitation of man by man in any form shall be entirely eliminated;
> - To realize and work towards the idea that the maximum well-being and happiness of humanity can only be achieved when, country by country, people non-violently organize into self-reliant rural and urban communities in which scientific and spiritual values are harmoniously combined for the welfare of all... (Ariyaratne,112-113).

The observance and practice of these principles was hoped to create the proper spiritual, psychological, physical, and social environment that would be a motivating factor for individuals to achieve the highest levels of personal development possible that will, in turn, give them the greatest opportunity to contribute to the betterment of their community (Ariyaratne,122).

An estimated 300,000 volunteers had worked at hundreds of rural work camps in the eight years from 1958 to 1966. In 1966, the movement made a conscious decision to purposely avoid seeking government support in these activities so it could remain free from this centralized and bureaucratized authority. This policy decision meant that the movement would have to actively seek financial assistance for its development activities from individuals and international aid agencies (Kantowsky,44-45). In the movement's second decade, it was to begin to put more of an emphasis on instituting a rural development program removed from that which emanated and was controlled by official government bodies (Macy,24). Different levels of *Sarvodaya* development were articulated with respect to a rural development strategy and these progressed from a basic level of awareness to the creation of a high point in a community's development with the presence of some degree of technological expertise. There were four specific stages of *Sarvodaya* development or *village awakening* that were identified. The first stage was a psychological infrastructural stage to create awareness where the members of the community start thinking together to strive to restore social values and relationships. The second stage was a social infrastructural stage where the people start getting organized together in economic and social activities to satisfy basic needs. The third stage was a physical infrastructural stage building the material foundation for their new life, and the last stage was a technological infrastructural stage to upgrade their technological skills (Gombrich/Obeseyekere,247/Creevey,217).

With these development stages formulated, Dr. Ariyaratne set out in 1968 to test the *Sarvodaya* theory for community development through an initiative called the *Hundred Village Development Scheme.* The lack of funds for this scheme necessitated that the movement seek outside sources, and financial aid to launch the program came forth from Dutch and German contributors, with the Netherlands Organization for International Development Corporation (NOVIB) consistently being the main funder over the years. The *Hundred Village* scheme was an integrated rural development plan that was intended to fulfill basic needs within individual villages by employing "principles of self-reliance, community participation, and planned development action" (Ariyaratne,108). The initial strategy that was undertaken in the first hundred villages where the scheme operated involved an attempt to accomplish several important tasks. These tasks involved identifying potential community leaders and instituting an education program to train young people so that the village development plan would be sustained; inculcating social and technical skills that would ensure the successful completion of the program; collecting data pertaining to the economic, social, educational, and cultural life of the village as well as health services available; and lastly, forming links with foreign and domestic groups and agencies for each village project in order to generate mutual help and understanding (Kantowsky,51). The ambitious nature of this scheme is reflected in its expansion from the initial 100 villages to approximately two thousand within ten years.

Some formalized structure was added to the movement in 1970 when it opened a central headquarters and main training centre in the city of Moratuwa. This was also made possible with the help of international aid agencies which have been a vital element sustaining the movement's operations. Over the course of the 1970s as many as twelve regional centres were established. These facilities provided training in different aspects of rural development for "community organizers and extension workers in health, preschool education, agriculture, cottage industry, and village technology" (Macy,25). The regional centres are coordinated with about 50 extension centres so a communication link is maintained with the ten to twenty workers in the field operating out of each extension centre. The courses provided at the centres vary in length and intensity as they can span over a weekend or entail a two year commitment in a training program, however, the average length is about two weeks (Hewage/Radcliffe,70). However, the establishment of this organizational framework did not relieve the movement from the persistent problems of a lack of capital to sustain projects until they are self-sufficient, or incorporating appropriate modern technology to ensure the success of the project. To address these concerns, the movement established a *Gramodaya (village awakening) Revolving Fund* to supply capital and a *Rural Technical Service* to provide the necessary skills in the agricultural sector and in cottage industries. Furthermore, the movement set up a research unit in order to evaluate the impact of its work (Kantowsky,58).

The firm organizational foundation created in this period gave the movement a well defined structure, but prompted critics to contend that the movement was becoming the centralized purview of the urban intelligentsia. To counter these allegations a decentralization plan was undertaken in the 1980s in an attempt to reduce the tendency for control of the movement's activities to emanate out of its headquarters in Moratuwa. To this end, hundreds of *Village Awakening Councils* were organized so that planning and decision-making for village development programs would originate from the village itself. These councils were organized so that there would be an equal make-up of children, women, men, youths, and elders. Other initiatives aimed at bringing about changes to the structure of the movement included: "granting autonomy" to institutions within the movement; "creating locally administered community shops"; and forming a council to instigate "nonpartisan discussion of national policies and opportunities" (Macy,25).

The preceding discussion has underlined the commitment of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement to address problems of rural community development as well as attempts to make itself a more effective development organization. There are some concrete benefits that have evolved from the efforts of this movement, in addition to some specifically identifiable criticisms that can be presented with regard to what has transpired within the movement since 1958. The benefits of *Sarvodaya Shramadana's* activities can be initially recognized in its process of consultation with those who are to be the actual beneficiaries of the development effort. Allowing the community members to determine their own priorities concerning their needs within the limitations of their immediate resources is an important first step in attaining an effective development initiative. The *Sarvodaya Shramadana* process allows for an open exchange of ideas, knowledge, and skills that builds self-esteem and encourages full participation. Additionally, *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement relies heavily on cultural traditions that gives the participants an opportunity to share a sense of identity and pride in themselves. These elements of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* combine to help build solidarity within the community that will encourage trust and respect for each other and develop a consciousness of what they must overcome and what they can overcome (Macy,91-94).

An important aspect of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* that makes the movement an attractive alternative to conventional development schemes is that it views the development process as originating with the individual. The movement's philosophy is that it is only after a proper level of development is achieved within the individual that the development process will be able to succeed at the community and national levels. Additional aspects of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* that make it an attractive development alternative centre on its de-emphasis of unrestrained materialism as a solution that will solve the suffering of humanity, as also its philosophy of replacing abstract concepts in the education process with reality-based experiences (Radcliffe,69,72). Furthermore, the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* approach helps develop leadership skills within the community that work toward eliminating the sense of powerlessness that can have a definite impact, especially upon the young people of the community (Macy,95-97).

Equally, a variety of criticisms have been levied against *Sarvodaya Shramadana* over the years, and often, the criticism is targeted at the founder of *Sarvodaya Shramadana*, Dr.Ariyaratne. Accusations are made that the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* process overly reflects Ariyaratne's own vision of reality which is caught up in an idealized vision of the traditional village as a result of his tendency to mythologize the past. Being that Ariyaratne himself comes from the urban elite his development philosophy has been criticized as representing the interests and values of the Sinhalese Buddhist bourgeoisie. Correspondingly, *Sarvodaya Shramadana* volunteers are criticized for disseminating the values of this group into the culture of the villages throughout Sri Lanka (Gombrich/Obeseyekere,244,248,251). The composition of *Sarvodaya Shramadana's* executive boards and volunteers may give some validity to this criticism as these bodies are disproportionately represented by Sinhalese, thus making it difficult for any other ethnic group's position to be represented. In a similar vein, a critical assessment placed upon the workers who are predominantly from the educated-elite is that their volunteer activity is not done as much for altruistic reasons as for economic reasons stemming from high unemployment (Kantowsky,145,119).

Other more general criticisms of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* concern various elements of its development approach and factors hampering its effectiveness. There is some contention that *Sarvodaya Shramadana* has over burdened itself with a formalized bureaucratic structure that hinders the spontaneity and informality essential to community development. Questions have also been raised as to the extent to which the movement has had to compromise its ideals in the face of its rapid expansion and dependence on foreign aid, or whether it can ever overcome the structural constraints inherent within Sri Lankan society that inhibits improvement for the rural poor (Kantowsky,121,134,153). Allegations have also surfaced that claim that community involvement in any training program is weakened when political motives have MP's becoming involved in selecting those deemed suitable for entering the *Development Education Program* (Kantowsky,123). Similarly, accusations have been made that housing projects intended for the poorest in the villages are likely to end up benefitting those who are supporters of the ruling party (Gombrich/Obeseyekere,443).

Another criticism pertains to *Sarvodaya Shramadana's* education program that concentrates too heavily on the rural reality that could have the detrimental effect of leaving the rural students at the bottom of the socio-economic stratum. The unappealing stigma that is attached to agricultural work makes it unattractive to the majority of youths aspiring to modern sector jobs (Kantowsky,120). A final criticism of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* worth noting is that its employment generation possibilities have been put in doubt as there is little evidence to prove that *Sarvodaya Shramadana* has had any great success in its small-scale industries and there is evidence of a lack of expertise in marketing products from the villages (Colletta,et al,282).

Doubtlessly there is a great deal of validity to the criticisms outlined here, but there are aspects of this self-help movement that deserve consideration in the wider sphere of development studies. The *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement is enmeshed in deep philosophical convictions that draw on historical cultural traditions to bring about improvements in rural living conditions by arousing the conscious will of the community. The unique character of this self-help development effort invites comparison to that previously explored through *Harambee* in Kenya, and this will be done in Chapter 5. The final section of this chapter will now draw attention to the extent to which this self-help development initiative is representative of an alternative development strategy.

d) *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA* COMPARED TO THE ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

The comparison of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* to the alternative development model will be presented in the same manner as was done with the *Harambee* movement in Chapter 3. Consequently, this self-help movement will also be compared to the model with respect to the extent it incorporates an anarchistic philosophy to social organization as well as contemporary perspectives on development. Some assessment will then be made concerning reasons why *Sarvodaya Shramadana* does or does not fit this model.

The extent to which *Sarvodaya Shramadana* reflects an anarchistic philospophy will be considered with respect to the following elements:

1) Autonomy from the State - this self-help movement has made a concerted effort to distance itself from the State. In doing so, it has gained a degree of autonomy in attempting to achieve its objectives and abide by its principles. Furthermore, the movement has not had government regulations imposed upon it, and has not had to conform to any government development plan. However, it has not been autonomous with respect to the influences of Sri Lanka's indigenous elite.

2) Autonomy from the market - *Sarvodaya Shramadana* has made a determined effort in this regard. This movement focuses on traditional forms of economic activity that centre on agriculture and cottage industries to provide for the needs of the community. In addition, voluntary work groups of community members serve to provide for collective needs.

3) Non-hierarchical structure - the manner in which *Sarvodaya Shramadana* has formally organized itself has given it a defined structure and chain of authority. This works to counter attempts to achieve a non-hierarchical form of organization.

4) Absence of profit motive - this movement has set specific principles with respect to its activities that strive to remove the profit motive from the development effort within communities. These principles focus on non-competitiveness, cooperation, and "selfless service" to the community. This approach goes a long way to stemming greed, and instead, create an unexploitative social environment.

5) A participatory form of decision-making - this has been achieved to a large degree through the practice of initiating the "family gatherings" in each community. This has worked to involve all segments of the population and establishes a sense of empowerment where everyone is given an equal voice.

6) No dependency on outside resources - this has not been acheived. While divorcing itself from government authority and any possible government intervention in its activities, the movement has not attained self-sufficiency to any great extent. The activities of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* have had to depend, almost entirely, on generous funding from foreign aid agencies because of a lack of its own capital resources.

7) Collective ownership of property - while community ownership is one of the principles of this movement, this has not been acheived as a whole. Although the facilities built through the development efforts of this movement would be communally owned and shared.

With respect to contemporary perspectives on development, the elements

that will be compared to this movement are:

1) Avoiding technically complex and capital intensive development initiatives - in principle, there has been an attempt to dismiss the technological imperative in the activities of *Sarvodaya Shramadana*. However, dependency on outside resources may have the result of compromising such principles when large sums of capital are available.

2) Instilling a new consciousness among the people - this has been a primary objective in the development activities of this movement. Relying on Buddhist principles, there has been a concerted effort to make people in rural communities aware of their capabilities and come to an understanding of the socio-economic dynamics that effect them. Additionally, spiritual and moral values are stressed in an attempt to discourage a competitive ethos.

3) Satisfaction of needs other then material ones - there has been an effort to instill a new conception of needs among community members. An attempt has been made to discourage a materialistic lifestyle that distorts needs and wastes resources. Consequently, needs of a more ethical and moral character have been emphasized that precipitates a sense of security, well-being, and self-confidence.

4) A process of dialogue - the dialogue which emanates from the "family gatherings" serves to articulate the priority of needs of the community. Encouraging the full participation of everyone regardless of age, sex, or socio-economic status best ensures that all point of view are presented. This also serves to engender attitudes of self-reliance and feelings of self-esteem among community members by taking matters into their own hands.

5) Emphasizing small-scale development - this element has been granted particular attention in the development initiatives undertaken by this movement. By utilizing cultural traditions steeped in Buddhist principles the community members identify with the movement and give it legitimacy and validity.

Aspects of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* self-help movement reflect more conformity to the model of alternative development than was witnessed in the *Harambee* movement. This conformity with the elements of the model are closer for some than for others. The movement is perhaps weakest with respect to collective ownership of property as this concept does not extend beyond the facilities that were built collectively. The one element of the model to which *Sarvodaya Shramadana* does not conform to in any respect concerns its dependence on outside resources. However, this is an important element that could have repercussions for the success of its present and future activities.

The elements of the alternative development model that are represented the strongest in *Sarvodaya Shramadana* would have to be with respect to consciousness-raising, the dialogue and participatory processes, and small-scale development initiatives. The strength of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* in these elements stems from a deep philosophical conviction that emanates from Sri Lanka's cultural and religious traditions. However, in some respects these cultural traditions may be emphasized to the exclusion of large ethnic groups like the Tamils. Similarly, by giving too much emphasis to cultural traditions, accusations arise concerning the tendency to *mythologize the past* and possibly keep people from advancing to their full potential with respect to modern technical skills.

This concludes the presentation of these two case studies with respect to the social dynamics shaping these movements and their representativeness as alternative development strategies. The opportunity presents itself to make a comparison between the two self-help movements themselves. This will done in the next chapter, and to conclude this study, an assessment of the practicality and limitations of the alternative development model itself will be made.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The discourse to this point has presented two empirical representations of self-help movements in two non-industrial societies. These empirical representations have been presented in the context of their own particular social political and cultural milieu in order to provide the historical context within which each of the self-help movements has evolved and expanded over the decades since its inception. In anticipation of the presentation of these two self-help movements, initially, theoretical perspectives pertaining to anarchistic orientations to social change, as well as contemporary perspectives on development were delineated in order to assess them relative to development for the benefit of the most marginalized populations of non-industrial societies. From these theoretical perspectives, a model of alternative development was formulated to which the two case studies could be compared. In the process, some assessment has been made as to the strengths and weaknesses of the two self-help movements in terms of community development in rural areas. Additionally, in comparing the two movements to the model of alternative development, some conclusions could be drawn regarding the degree to which each movement conformed to or deviated from the model. Some conclusions will be made at the end of the chapter regarding the practicality and limitations of the model itself in view of its comparison to the two empirical representations of what could be deemed alternative development. Before pursuing this however, there will be a final look at the two self-help movements in terms of how they compare to each other.

a) CONCLUDING COMPARISONS OF *HARAMBEE* AND *SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA*

The two case studies of self-help movements that have been presented reveal some obvious similarities as well as dramatic differences between them. These similarities and differences can be defined in terms of strategies employed, organization, and overall objectives. Additionally, their similarities and differences can be identified with respect to the social context within which they operate.

In terms of strategies employed, organization, and overall objectives, both self-help movements relied on small associations that were community based in order to undertake a collective initiative. They utilized cultural traditions grounded in concepts of mutual assistance, mutual benefit, and social responsibility to one's community that the rural population could identify with and respond to accordingly. The development initiatives undertaken by these self-help movements were locally planned, relying on "bottom-up" decision-making in an effort to encourage the fullest participation of each member of the community. Above all, these two self-help movements endeavoured to provide opportunities that would enable individuals from the most marginalized segments of the population to realize their capabilities and to attain their greatest potential. This was attempted through having the locals identify their needs and priorities according to the limitation of resources at hand. In these respects, these self-help movements embody a development strategy that would appear to be more appropriate than ones which concentrate on large-scale schemes that are bureaucratically dictated and without any consultation with the people to be affected.

The two movements diverge greatly in terms of organization, philosophy, and approach to self-help development. The distinction of the *Sarvodaya Shramadana* movement lies in its deep philosophical commitment to Buddhist principles and the religious conviction this involves. The Buddhist revivalist movement guided the focus of this self-help movement with its emphasis on the development of the individual. This was emphasized to instill a new consciousness in the indivdual that would create a better understanding of one's social environment in order to bring about fundamental change. The *Shramadana* work camps were designed for this purpose, and with the help of a process of dialogue, the Buddhist principles of personal and social development were expected to emerge within each individual. The movement in Sri Lanka also diverged from *Harambee* in Kenya with respect to having developed a greater measure of its formalized organizational structure (with a head office and regional centres), a formalized rural development plan, and a formalized set of objectives and principles. A final way that *Sarvodaya Shramadana* differs from *Harambee* is with respect to its effort to purposefully avoid any government involvement in their activities.

Harambee's development strategy is not embedded in any such philosophical convictions. Nor does it have any formalized structure or made any strides to distance itself from the influence of the national government. This movement has no overall vision or plan from which to form a development strategy and this has resulted in the Kenyan government's direct intervention in controlling the activities of the movement. Thus, from the first years of its inception, the movement has had to conform largely to the government's priorities rather than those of the people in the rural communities.

Both movements suffer from a lack of capital resources which makes them dependent on resources from outside the community. This scenario could result in principles being compromised and objectives being re-directed or substantially altered. For *Harambee,* the lack of capital resources means that community members must cultivate a good patron-client relationship to secure a steady influx of funds for projects. The result of this practice is that the *Harambee* movement actually serves to maintain the local and national power structure instead of bringing about fundamental change. For *Sarvodaya Shramadana,* the lack of capital resources for their projects means that they must rely on foreign agencies to provide funding. Without focusing on sustainable development the viability of any project initiated by these movements becomes precarious. Thus, such a dependency on outside funding could lead to the abandonment of projects and the waste of valuable resources.

In terms of the social context within which these two movements operate, the two case studies have demonstrated the extent to which the social, political, and economic structures have had an influence on the activities of these movements. In both cases, the social-structural forces that were present fostered the emergence of an indigenous bourgeoisie. The presence of this group is significant with respect to the power and influence they wield in each society. Education has been an important factor contributing to the prominance of this group in each country. Those who had access to quality education gained opportunities of employment in the modern sector in both the civil service and private firms. Access to a quality education in each country has been determined largely on the basis of class and ethnic factors. In Kenya, it has been the Kikuyus that have benefitted the most from this structural arrangement. In Sri Lanka, it has been the English-educated Sinhalese who have assumed their position of prominence in that society. For those ethnic groups who do not have access to a quality education and the modern sector jobs and class prestige that it brings, their social mobility is greatly hindered. The ethnic minority that has been the exception to this is the Tamils in Sri Lanka. However, their prominant position in civil service jobs instigated a backlash of discriminatory legislation to reinstate the Sinhalese majority into these positions.

Thus, there is no great desire among the elites located within the power structures in these countries to bring about any fundamental social change. The indigenous bourgeoisie in Kenya, for instance, have coopted the efforts of *Harambee* to serve their ends. In Kenya in particular, the influence of this group leads one to conclude that the self-help movement is being utilized more as an instrument of social control than for social change. In Sri Lanka, it was the same elements of the indigenous bourgeoisie who formulated the philosophy and actually instigated the self-help initiatives of *Sarvodaya Shramadana*. Therefore, it becomes difficult to proclaim that either of these self-help movements grew out of grassroots initiatives and the cultural traditions of the rural communities. On the whole, it is the urban middle-class values that come to be reflected in the development activities of these two movements. The dominant presence of the indigenous bourgeoisie has the effect of causing some emulative tendencies among the rural masses that can distort their concept of needs and lead to a waste of scarce resources.

Nonetheless, both of these self-help movements have made valuable contributions to numerable rural communities in their respective countries. In terms of stimulating locally initiated community development these movements have provided much needed facilities that may otherwise not have been made available to these rural populations. The localized planning and decision-making engenders in participants invaluable leadership skills and encourages self-reliance and the possibility of forming something of a rural power base. Consequently, personal development is enhanced by self-help activities that create an awareness within these rural populations of their inherent capabilities and potential. Furthermore, these self-help initiatives reinforce traditional forms of social organization that have a legitimacy and validity that can revitalize a community.

However, the evidence provided by the two case studies of self-help development initiatives indicates some fundamental flaws in their approach to development in rual communities. The activities of the two self-help movements have not had the effect of mitigating entrenched social divisions in their respective societies, and to some extent, these movements have accentuated social cleavages based on class and ethnicity. The fact that the benefits from the development activities of the two self-help movements have accrued to some groups in these societies more than others gives credence to this point. The provision of educational facilities in poor communities may only provide the illusion of providing opportunities for social mobility, as is witnessed in Kenya, because the education provided by these facilities is of too poor a quality to be of any great benefit. Furthermore, with respect to educational facilities in these communities, the recurring costs of such facilities may be so financially burdensome as to have an overall detrimental effect on any given community. Similarly, the over-representation of the Sinhalese ethnic group in the structure of *Sarvodaya Shramadana* gives cause for concern as to the benefits, if any, that will accrue to other minority groups in the country from the activities of this movement.

The evidence provided from this study indicates that these two self-help movements have remained in a subordinate position to other more powerful forces in their respective societies. These forces emanate from the social, political, economic, and cultural dynamics operating in each country. Neither of the self-help movements has demonstrated that it can generate a sufficient amount of capital resources within individual communities to start or sustain development initiatives so that they may be completely independent from outside resources. This is an important factor in determining the effectiveness that the development initiatives emanating from these movements will have. To conclude, it would appear from the evidence provided in this study that the efforts of the *Harambee* and *Sarvodaya Shramadana* self-help movements have not challenged the social structure within their respective societies, and in actuality, their activities go a long way towards reinforcing the *status quo.*

b) CONCLUSIONS ON THE MODEL OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

This model of development is attractive in terms of its potential, for instance, on mobilizing local resources through engendering a communal or collective spirit among members of individual communities. The potential to inspire people to act in order to improve their quality of life is doubtlessly enhanced by a development process founded on concepts of mutuality, reciprocity, cooperation, freedom from authority, and small associations. The incorporation of concepts such as these makes the potential for encouraging the full participation of members of the community that much more possible. This type of devlopment process allows for a new consciousness to be born in the minds of community members that can create a sense of empowerment to overcome adversity, and instead, take matters into their own hands.

The desirability of pursuing a development process of this sort would also be witnessed in terms of avoiding technologically complex and capital intensive development initiatives, and focusing on small-scale initiatives instead. This would provide some measure of assurance as to the appropriateness of any development scheme, as well as assuring that local resources will be used so that no financial burden will result. Additionally, the viability of this type of development process lies in the value it places on using traditional knowledge bases to overcome problems and utilizing a process of dialogue to determine the priority of needs.

The limitations of this model of alternative development centre on aspects of the social context within which any development initiative must operate. Attempting to become autonomous from the State or market forces is limited by the power structures present in any society. The vested interests of indigenous elites come to dominate any development agenda and become reflected in the development activities at the community level. Market forces are too pervasive to be ignored and the presence of a global market economy in today's world can not be overlooked as an increasingly powerful set of constraints within the parameters of community development. Thus, in this respect, the pervasiveness of market forces would make it difficult for a development initiative to be devoid of the profit motive.

Similar limitations surface in this model with respect to attempting to avoid dependency on outside resources. While non-industrial countries have a wealth of labour resources, they also share common characteristics of a scarcity of capital. This does not make it entirely plausible to expect that a development initiative can survive by relying on the resources of the commnunity itself. Furthermore, the concept of collective ownership of property would be extremely difficult to pursue to any great extent. While communal access to certain facilities and amenities of the community may exist, trying to establish this on a wholesale level would most likely meet resistence for it is likely to be seen as going against the established social structure.

Lastly, the limitations of this model can be identified in terms of its reliance on cultural traditions and traditional economic activities. The aspirations of many inhabitants of rural communities include access to modern amenities and employment in other than traditional sector jobs. The traditional sector in the non-industrial countries can carry stigmas pertaining to class that people may strive to avoid. Therefore, by being restricted to development schemes that exclusively focus on traditional economic activities or on an education for these types of activties, people in rural communities may feel hampered in their aspirations for social mobility.

In conclusion, as was noted previously, development can not be imposed and the develpment process is buredened with unexpected and unintendened consequences. This study has brought forth various aspects of the development process and possibly created an awareness of why such initiatives should be pursued with some trepidation. The presentation of two case studies of self-help development was intended as a representation of what would appear to be alternative development processes. The efficacy of these types of development processes was brought into question as the internal strengths and weaknesses of each self-help movement were revealed, and as the constraints on the effectiveness of this type of development initiative with respect to the social context within which each movement operated were brought to light. Furthermore, a model of alternative development had been formulated and compared to these movements in order to determine with some confidence the extent to which these movements represented processes of alternative development. In the process, both the self-help movements and the model itself came to be questioned in terms of effectiveness, practicality, and limitations. Thus, it is hoped that the presentation of this study will shed some light on important elements of any development process that hopes to improve the quality of life for the marginalized populations of rural communites. In addition, it is hoped that the issues raised in this study will inspire further research in the area of development in rural communities of the non-industrial countries.

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